



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

B 1,239,349



GIFT OF

GEORGE C. MAHON, Esq.,

TO THE LIBRARY OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.



IIA
900

.I69

no. 1

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY
OF
AFFAIRS IN IRELAND,
1641—1652.

Irish archaeological and Celtic society
works no. 113

32304

A
CONTEMPORARY HISTORY
OF
AFFAIRS IN IRELAND,

FROM 1641 TO 1652.

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME PUBLISHED.

WITH AN
APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

EDITED BY
JOHN T. GILBERT, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.,
LATE SECRETARY OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE OF IRELAND;
AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN"; "HISTORY OF THE VICEROYS OF IRELAND";
EDITOR OF FAC-SIMILES OF NATIONAL MSS. OF IRELAND; ETC.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS AND FACSIMILES.



VOL. II. PART I.

DUBLIN:
FOR THE IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY.
1880.

PREFACE.

THE first portion of this volume contains the fourth book of the "Aphorismical Discovery," in two divisions, followed by twenty-five chapters of the fifth book. The narrative opens in 1649, and extends to the latter part of the year 1651.

The subjects which principally occupy the author's attention in this part of his work are the rout of Ormonde and his forces by the Parliamentary Colonel, Michael Jones, near Dublin, in August, 1649; the death of General Owen O'Neill, in November, 1649; the election of Emer Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, to succeed him as General of the Irish of Ulster; the movements of Oliver Cromwell in Ireland; the capture by him of Drogheda, Wexford, Ross, and Kilkenny; and the successful defence of Clonmel against him by Major-General Hugh O'Neill, nephew to General Owen O'Neill.

The author describes the further efforts of Hugh O'Neill, and the Irish, in the Royal cause, after the departure of Cromwell; the defeat of the Ulster forces in 1650, under their General, Emer Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, followed by the execution of that prelate and of Owen O'Neill's son, Henry Roe O'Neill.

In other sections of the narrative are noticed the transactions between Commissary Redmond Caron and his brethren of the Franciscan Order in Ireland; the declaration of the Roman Catholic clergy against the continuance of the authority of King Charles in the person of the Marquis

of Ormonde as Viceroy; the unconciliatory demeanour of his Deputy, Clanricarde, and the latter's kinsmen and "factionists"; the correspondence of the bishops with Rome, and the negotiations with the Duke of Lorraine in reference to his undertaking the "Protectorship" of Ireland.

In connection with the matters mentioned in the narrative, much authentic and important material is furnished by the many original documents in our Appendix, which are now for the first time printed.

Among these are letters from Charles II., the Duke of Lorraine, the Marquis of Ormonde, Oliver Cromwell, Colonels George Monk, John Hewson, and John Reynolds, Lords Inchiquin and Dillon, General Owen O'Neill, Colonel Daniel O'Neill, Major-General Hugh O'Neill, Sir Phelim O'Neill, Sir Arthur Aston, Sir Walter Butler, Sir Charles Coote, George Monro, the Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops, Dean Michael Boyle, Lieutenant-General Richard Ferrall, Colonels Philip and Myles O'Reilly, and other commanders of the Irish of Ulster. In addition to these, we have here printed, for the first time, various papers, both lay and clerical, of a confidential character, articles of agreement, military commissions, muster-rolls, lists of officers and garrisons, and miscellaneous writings, illustrating the history of the period.

The "Aphorismical Discovery" does not supply specific information with regard to the overtures which, from other sources, we find were at this period actively made by General Owen O'Neill to ecclesiastical authorities on the Continent, as well as to Parliamentarians and Royalists both in England and Ireland.

Rinuccini, after his departure from Ireland, wrote as follows from France, on the 14th of April, 1649, to Cardinal Panzirolo: "Concerning the journey to Flanders and remaining there for a short period, I consider it requisite for the Irish business, as it is most important to learn the resolution which O'Neill may come to, and of what Crelly may have done in London, because if O'Neill come to terms with Ormonde, we shall have

only to recommend Ireland to the mercy of God ; but if he has taken the field, much may yet be recovered.”¹

In a “Relation,” taken at Havre-de-Grace in April, 1649, preserved among the papers of Chancellor Clarendon,² and written partly in cipher, we find statements respecting the existence of a “private confederacy or friendly understanding,” between Michael Jones,³ Colonel of the Parliamentary forces, and General Owen O’Neill, carried on through the agency of the Vicar-General of the latter’s army. “But,” adds the “Relation,” “neither Colonel Jones nor Owen O’Neill dare be known to their parties that they have any intelligence or confederacy at all with each other, for then their men would soon quit them, as some have lately done in considerable numbers . . . There is also now at London one Abbot Crelly (who was with the Marquis of Antrim at Paris) treating with the Rebels in England, being, as it is verily believed, sent thither by Owen O’Neill, not without the privity of Jones.” On this hitherto obscure matter some light is thrown by the following statements of the Republican commander, Edmund Ludlow :

“About this time an agent from Owen Roe O’Neal came privately to London, and found out a way to acquaint the council of state, that if they thought fit to grant him a safe conduct he would make some propositions to them that would be for their service. The council, to avoid any misconstruction of their actions, refused to hear him ; but appointed a committee to speak with him, of which I was one, ordering us to report to them what he should propose. His proposition was, that the party commanded by O’Neil should submit to, and act for, the parliament, if they might obtain indemnity for what was passed, and assurance of the enjoyment of their religion and estates for the time to come. We asked him, why they made application to us, after they had refused to join with those who had been in treaty with the king ? He answered, that the king had broken his word with them ; for tho’ they had deserved well of him, and he had made them many fair promises, yet when he could make better terms with any other party, he had been always ready to sacrifice them. We asked him farther, why they had not made their application sooner ? He told us, because such men had been possessed of the power, who had sworn their extirpation ; but that now it was believed to be the interest of those in authority to grant liberty of conscience ; promising, that if such liberty might be extended to them, they would be as zealous for a common-wealth as any other party,

¹ “Nunziatura in Irlanda.” 1844, p. 374.

² Appendix iii., p. 207.

³ See vol. i. pp. 747-9, for statements by the Assembly of Kilkenny in September, 1648, in reference to relations between Owen O’Neill and Colonel Michael Jones.

instancings in many countries where they were so. We informed him, that it was our opinion that the council would not promise indemnity to all that party, they being esteemed to have been the principal actors in the bloody massacre at the beginning of the rebellion; neither did we think that they would grant them the liberty of their religion, believing it might prove dangerous to the publick peace. The council, upon our report of what had passed at the conference, concurred with our opinion; so that having no more to do with the agent, he was required to depart within a limited time."¹

We find that on the 25th of April, 1649, Owen O'Neill wrote to Colonel Monk, urging him to promote the acceptance of the propositions which he had made to the English Parliament for conclusion of peace.² Articles for a cessation of arms were concluded on the 8th of May between O'Neill and Monk. The seventh of the propositions of O'Neill was to the effect that he was to be restored or put in possession of estates, "in reward of his merit, and the good service that he shall perform in the Parliament of England's service, in the preservation of their interest in this kingdom." The overtures concluded as follows: "I [Owen O'Neill] do, upon receiving a confirmation of these propositions, forthwith undertake and promise, in behalf of myself and the whole party under my command, faithfully and firmly to adhere to the service of the Parliament of England in this kingdom, and maintain their interest hereafter, with the hazard of our lives and fortunes, against all opposers whatsoever."³

Owen O'Neill, five days after his agreement with Monk, addressed a letter to Dionisio Massari, Dean of Fermo in Italy, stating that he was reduced to such extremities that he would be necessitated to join the "faction" of the Supreme Council or those in power at Dublin. Either of these courses would, he averred, be to him more bitter than death, and he implored Massari for aid to save him from such an union, rather than embrace which he would prefer to pass the remainder of his days in a foreign land. On the eighteenth of the same month, O'Neill dispatched from his camp at Cavan, letters to Rinuccini, and to Cardinals

¹ *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Esq., Lieutenant of Horse, Commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland.* London: 1751, p. 114.

² *Appendix*, p. 433.

³ *Appendix*, p. 216.

de la Cuenca and Panfilio. In these, after having protested his anxiety to persevere in the course approved of by the Nuncio, he declared himself reduced almost to a state of desperation, and begged for assistance that he might not have to join either the faction of Ormonde or of the Parliament, both of which, he wrote, were regarded by him with hatred and horror.¹

On the 25th of May, 1649, Monk, then at Dundalk, gave Oliver Cromwell, by letter, an account of the difficult position in which he was placed by the withdrawing of the Scots from their previous connection with him :

"Being in a very ill condition," wrote Monk, "with these garrisons between the Scots and Irish, Owen Mac Art's army, I have adventured, by the advice of some special friends and wellwishers to this service, to treat with Owen Mac Art [O'Neill] to keep him from joining with Ormonde, which if he had done, Colonel Jones and I had been in a very great hazard of losing the Parliament's footing in this kingdom; whereupon, finding Colonel Jones in such a condition, that he could not relieve me, it made me the more confident to adventure upon a cessation of arms between Owen Mac Art's party and mine, he engaging himself to oppose Ormonde, which he doth really intend to do, and hath already by his endeavours manifested his willingness to ruin Ormonde, for a greater feud cannot possibly be between them then there is now: wherefore upon this score I have treated with him, and according to his desire, sent you the copy of the propositions made by him to the Parliament, which are wonderful high, but I believe will descend much lower: I have sent you likewise a copy of the agreement for three months cessation between Owen Mac Art and I. I do not think it fit to signify this to the Council of State, but do wholly refer the business to you, either to make further use of it, or else to move it, or as you conceive most fit to be done; since there was great necessity for me to do it, I hope it will beget no ill construction, when the advantage gained to the service, by dividing Ormonde and Mac Art, is fully weighed."

In connection with the transactions between Monk and O'Neill, the following contemporary details, as received in London, are given by Bulstrode Whitelocke,² under date of July, 1649 :

"Letters from Chester that Ormond was 40,000 strong before Dublin,

That Colonel Monk, upon the enemy's approach towards Dundalk, sent to Owen Rowe Oneal, head of the natural Irish, desiring him in pursuance of the Articles between them to draw his forces together, and to be in readiness when the enemy should draw near to them.

This was undertaken by Owen, but he sent word back that he wanted ammunition, and

¹ Appendix, pp. 435, 437.

² "Memorials of the English Affairs." London: 1732, p. 416.

being come within three miles with his whole army, he sent out 1200 foot, and 200 horse, who received from Colonel Monk 20 barrels of powder with match and bullets proportionable.

Presently after this, they had information that Inchequin was coming against them, which made them speed as fast as they could to their General, but they were overtaken and routed, 500 killed upon the place, many prisoners taken, the rest so beaten and scatter'd that few of them escaped without their death's wounds.

This news was so terrible to Owen and his army that they all rose in a panick fear, and fled into the county of Longford; this defeat was given in the view of the town of Dundalk, and Inchequin sent the news of it presently to Ormond, who thereupon sent to Colonel Jones for exchange of prisoners, and sent him the news of this defeat given to Owen.

Inchequin the same evening came before Dundalk and summoned it. Colonel Monk was retreated thither, upon the assurance of all his officers and soldiers to stand by him, except one soldier, who when Monk told them, that if any of them scrupled to fight in this quarrel, he might depart and should have a pass from him.

This one soldier only desired a pass, and said he could not in conscience fight in this quarrel; Monk gave him a pass according to his desire, and the rest promised to be faithful to him.

But when Inchequin came now before the town, all the faithful soldiers ran away over the trenches to Inchequin, swearing deep oaths that they would not engage with Monk, who entered into confederacy with Owen Rowe, the head of the native Irish.

By this and many other passages both in ours and other histories, we may observe the strange inconstancy, lightness and irrational actions of the common soldiery, whom for the most part money and avoiding present danger carry beyond any other interest.

These soldiers of Colonel Monk's, one day swore to stand by him, the next day every one of them deserted him; money was to be had from Inchequin, none from Monk, with whom if they staid they must fight; but if they left him they thought the danger was over.

They had all engaged under Colonel Monk, and when he had demanded of them whether they would be faithful to him, and stand by him; all but one said, that in conscience they could not leave him, but would stand by him.

The next day when danger approached, then they could not in conscience stay with him, because he was confederate with the head of the native Irish rebels, Owen Rowe.

Yet the same conscience could give them leave to serve under Ormond, who commanded both the Irish rebels Catholics, and the English Royalists against the English Protestants.

Monk's soldiers having thus deserted him, the town of Dundalk was presently surrendered to Inchequin, upon no other conditions, but that Monk might dispose of what was his as he saw good.

That Colonel Mark Trevor was there a great purchaser, and bought choice sheep for three pound a score, cows for thirty pound a score, and horses for forty pound a score, and so made himself up a regiment, and was made governor of the town to boot.

That this defeat of Owen was a great advantage to Ormond, that in Dundalk store of provisions was taken, that Owen was so enraged at this defeat that he swore he would be revenged.

That there were divisions in Ormond's army, between the English and the Irish, for that Ormond gave the lands so regained to the English, and put them into garrisons, but kept the Irish in the field in most hardship and danger; that many of the ministers in Dublin are suspected, and suspended."

On the 2nd of August, 1649, Ormonde, with the King's army, was routed near Dublin by the Parliamentarians, commanded by Colonel Michael Jones. In the North, however, the only considerable place held for the Parliament was the town of Derry, the garrison of which, under Sir Charles Coote, was reduced almost to extremities, from a nine weeks' siege by Viscount Montgomery.¹ Owen O'Neill, suffering at this time from a "mighty scarcity of powder and shot, and destitute of all human way to come by it," was, by Coote's offers of money and ammunition, induced to bring the Ulster forces to his relief on the 7th of August. The siege of Derry being thus raised, that town was consequently preserved for the Commonwealth of England. Sir Charles Coote, on this occasion, according to the "Aphorismical Discovery," "came to General O'Neill, with all the friendly ostentation possible, and invited him and all his major officers to the town, where he was served with extraordinary plenty and curiosity, complied with him in all other promised obligation, with a surplus of proper liberality; but, alas! it was surely bruited that among the rest of his serving, a cup of poison was ministered unto him of lingering operation, by little and little pining him out, and though he forthwith marched back unto the county of Cavan with his army, he was not well, his hair and nails falling off by degrees; and though his then physicians, using their science and art to heal him, as laboring with the gout (for his Doctor, Owen O'Shiel, was not at that present in place) . . . but to no purpose, for never after was his own man."²

In the books of the Council of State at London, then the main governing body in England, their proceedings in relation to Monk's transactions with Owen O'Neill appear as follows:

1649. August 6.

The secrecy enjoined upon the business of Col. Monk's treaty with Mc Art [Owen O'Neill] to be taken off.

¹ Appendix, p. 440, Captain Henry Finch's Relation of the Siege of Londonderry, 1649.

² See, at p. 211 of vol. iii., Colonel Henry O'Neill's statement on this subject.

A narrative of the treaty to be prepared and reported to the House, as also all the letters and papers.

Col. Monk to prepare the narrative, with his reasons, and attend the House thereon next Wednesday.

Resolved that the treaty between Col. Monk and Owen Mac Art [O'Neill] was wholly against the judgment of this Council when they first heard of it, and they are still of the same opinion.

1649, August 7.

To report to the House that the letter and papers concerning the Cessation made by Col. Monk with Owen Roe Mc Art O'Neale were sent to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by Col. Monk, and were delivered by the Lord Lieutenant to the Council, when they considered the whole business, and disapproved thereof; that it was not then thought fit, however, to return any answer to Col. Monk, but he was enjoined to secrecy; that he having now come to England and presented himself, the Council have informed him that they neither did nor do approve of what he has done therein, and have ordered that the aforesaid letter and papers, and his reasons for making such Cessation, should be at once reported as aforesaid.¹

The following further contemporary details on this affair, in August, 1649, have been transmitted to us by Whitelocke:²

"Upon a report from the Council of State, and letters to them from the Lieutenant of Ireland, concerning Major-General Monk's making a peace with Owen Roe O'Neal, which the Council disapproved, and reported to the House to know their pleasure therein.

"Major-General Monk was called into the House, and asked several questions by their order, which he answered at the bar of the House touching that business; after a long debate of it, the House upon the question passed this vote, that they did disapprove of what Major-General Monk had done in concluding a peace with the grand and bloody Irish Rebel, Owen Rowe O'Neal, and did abhor the having anything to do with him therein;

"Yet are verily persuaded that the making of the same by the said Major-General Monk was in his judgment for the most advantage of the English interest in that nation; and that he shall not be further questioned for the same for the time to come.

"Order that the report of the Council of State, the questions demanded of Major-General Monk, with his answers and the votes of the House thereupon, be printed and published.

"Major-General Monk was much discontented at the proceeding in this business in relation to him, especially at some passages highly reflecting upon his honour and fidelity.

"And it was the opinion of divers, either not at all to have questioned this business, or having once questioned it, not to have employed him any more in their service.

"But the major part carried it thus, to beat him and afterwards to stroke him, which some did think was never forgotten by him."

In our Appendix to the present volume will be found the Articles between General Owen O'Neill and Colonel Monk; O'Neill's Propositions

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1649-50, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Edited by M. A. Green. London: 1875.

² "Memorials of the English Affairs." London: 1732, p. 419.

to the English Parliament ; Monk's official statement of his reasons for concluding a cessation for three months with O'Neill ; and Monk's letters to O'Neill and to Oliver Cromwell.¹

Some details in reference to Cromwell's appointment may be here mentioned. The Council of State at London, on the 15th of March, 1649, recommended that Lieutenant-General Cromwell should be commander of the troops for Ireland, and for their pay, twenty thousand pounds per month were allocated by ordinance. Sir William Armyne reported to Parliament, on the 29th of the same month, that the Council of State had nominated Lieutenant-General Cromwell to be commander-in-chief of the forces for Ireland, and that he had declared his willingness to go if sufficiently provided. The appointment was approved of by the House on the following day, and Cromwell's draft patent was reported on the 20th of June. An order was made by Parliament that Cromwell, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, should be allowed, from date of his patent, ten pounds a day as General of the forces of Ireland, during his continuance in England, and that from the time of his arrival in Ireland he should receive, as General of the forces there, two thousand pounds per quarter, which was not to be understood as forming part of his salary as Lord Lieutenant. A sum of three thousand pounds was advanced to him for his transport and provisions. One hundred thousand pounds were also to be immediately provided for the pay of the soldiers going to Ireland. Cromwell's entire annual salary in connection with Ireland would appear to have been £13,000, representing about £45,000 at the present day—somewhat more than double the salary now paid to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.²

On the 14th of August, 1649, Cromwell landed with his forces at Dublin. Sir Charles Coote, on the same day, wrote as follows from Derry to the Council of State at London: " General Owen O'Neill, being

¹ Appendix, pages 216-221, 433, 434.

² Calendar of State Papers, 1649-50, by M. A. Green. London: Longmans, 1875.

sensible that the Parliament's interest in these parts was in danger of being wholly lost, and the forces under my command likely to be ruined and destroyed, in defence thereof, by a numerous party of English and Scots under [Montgomery] the Lord of Ards and other desperate enemies against the Parliament, was pleased freely to offer his assistance to our relief, which was accordingly accepted by me, upon the articles or conditions herein inclosed, which I purpose (God willing) inviolably to observe, till your Lordship's pleasure be known therein: And truly I," added Coote, "must ingeniously acknowledge that I have hitherto found General O'Neal and the army under his command very punctual and faithful in all their promises and engagements that they had made unto me; and I make no question but they will continue so unto the end."¹

The Commons at London, on 24th August, 1649, resolved that their vote in the case of Colonel Monk be communicated to Sir Charles Coote as the resolution of their House, and a direction for him how to behave himself in the transaction between him and Owen O'Neill.

Early in August, intelligence had reached Ireland from Pembrokehire that 8000 horse and 7000 foot were waiting there to embark under Cromwell and Ireton. A sum of eighty thousand pounds, in ready money, was also reported to be at the disposal of Cromwell. In reference to this, one of Ormonde's informants wrote: "I find that he hath some friends in Munster, and more he hopes to make with his money, which may work much, when it is known he hath it, among needy men."²

About this period, negotiations appear to have been re-opened between Ormonde and Owen O'Neill. By letter from Trim, of the 12th of August, addressed to O'Neill, Ormonde undertook that all particulars should be promptly arranged to the full contentment and satisfaction of the Ulster General, on his submission to the King's government and authority. Some days later, Ormonde commissioned Sir Richard Barnewall and Sir Luke Fitz Gerald to conclude a treaty with O'Neill and his

¹ Appendix, p. 447.

² Appendix, pp. 223, 226.

party on conditions which had been previously approved of. "We know," wrote Ormonde to O'Neill, "you are not ignorant of the late misfortune befallen His Majesty's army before Dublin, the landing of Cromwell with considerable supplies of men and other things in Dublin, and that now is the season of the year most proper in all respects for service, all which are motives inducing me to desire that in case you determine to adhere to what you have offered, as I nothing doubt but you will, you would without delay advance with your army towards these parts to be joined with the rest of His Majesty's forces, for the preservation of his interest, and whatever else of religion or freedom may be of value with our nation, and that you would give us an intimation of the time and place whither we may send unto you, our resolution being personally to confirm unto you the conditions formerly offered."¹

In a letter on the same day, the 22nd of August, to Sir George Monro, O'Neill alluded to the "unthankful requital" he had several times experienced from the Council at Kilkenny, adding as follows: "God is a rightful judge, at whose hands I must expect justice therein. I desire you will suspend any censure or hard opinion of me concerning the premises until such time as you receive a true information of the matter on both sides. I am so unalterably constant and steadfast in my resolution and ways as that where my promise or parole is once really engaged, I [would] rather die a thousand times than one inch to decline or deviate from the same. What aspersion soever my masters [the Council] are pleased undeservedly to cast upon me will (I doubt not) in the end redound rather to their own discredit than any dishonor of mine, as the final effect of both our proceedings will publicly testify to the view of the world."²

The Bishop of Raphoe and Colonel Audley Mervyn were, on the 23rd of August, despatched from Drogheda by Ormonde to confer with Owen O'Neill, on "matters of importance to His Majesty's service." On the

¹ Appendix, xxii., p. 229.

² Appendix, xxiii., ib.

same day, the defence and maintenance of Drogheda against Cromwell was resolved on by a Council of War, consisting of fifteen members, including Sir Arthur Aston, to whom the command of the town was entrusted. On the 27th of August, Ormonde "hastened" Daniel O'Neill to his uncle, Owen, with credentials in relation to his submission to the King's authority and the immediate prosecution of his service. After having mentioned to Daniel the "perpetual troubles" caused by want of supplies and money, Ormonde addressed him as follows in reference to the letter of credence :

"Now you have it, and know where to find General O'Neill, I am sure you will lose no time, since you very well apprehend that the delay of his assistance is as ruinous to our business as almost his continued enmity can be. I shall not use any arguments to him that may lessen his confidence in the Rebels, in case they should endeavour to persuade or further his submission to them, or neutrality in this war, for I take him to be one who very well understands the world, and can judge how little value they will set upon him in respect of the power they have in their hands, which they will take to be the only inducement of his compliance with them ; on the other side, the consideration he may be of to the King is evident, and may justly challenge not only an exact performance of undertakings, but rewards suitable to his future merits."¹ Ormonde added that O'Neill might perhaps ascribe the renovation of the treaty to the supposed sinking condition of the Royal cause, but he averred that as no success would have led him to retract his former offers, so no adversity could force him to any act likely to be hurtful or dishonourable to the King.

Daniel O'Neill, by letter of the 28th of August, assured Ormonde that he would on the following day commence his journey from Trim, of which he was Governor. He gave an account of his efforts to meet the pressing wants of the officers and soldiers in that garrison, towards the maintenance of which little was to be expected from the "distracted country."

¹ Appendix, xxxiii., p. 237.

"At this instant," he wrote, "I am not able to pay some carpenters nor masons I have at work twenty shillings, unless I give it them out of six pounds I have for my journey."

On the 5th of September, Daniel O'Neill reached his uncle at Ballikelly, twelve miles eastward of Derry, and learned from him that he had already by letter intimated his intention to be with Ormonde in fifteen days. "In that resolution," wrote Daniel, "I found him firm at my coming, but very unable to perform, besides that Coote gives him all the delays he can, lest he should leave the country before he have more men; he is fallen so lame by a defluxion in his knee that he can neither ride nor endure to be carried on a horse litter; this misfortune has stayed him these four days from being as far as the Omy upon his way. This day he has a litter made for him; if to-morrow he has any manner of ease, he intends to march. Whether it be his sickness, or that he intends to oblige your Excellency the more, he has not talked anything as yet of his conditions; all his officers, to a very few, and those of the least consideration, are as passionate for his submission to his Majesty's service as Sir Luke FitzGerald would have them. The number of foot he hopes to bring your Excellency will be near six thousand, and about five hundred horse, truly not so contemptible for their number as some persuaded me they were; they are well horsed and armed, to a very few; as soon as I leave him a day or two upon his march, I intend to make all the haste I can to your Excellency."¹

Sir Arthur Aston, the commander of Drogheda, was of an ancient English family, and had spent most of his time in foreign military employments. Returning to England with high reputation, at the commencement of the Civil War, he joined the Royalists, was appointed Colonel-General of Dragoons, and with them did great service in the left wing of the King's army at Edgehill in 1642. He was subsequently Commissary-General of horse, and commanded at Reading, in Berkshire,

¹ Appendix, li., p. 252.

when it was besieged, in 1643, by the Earl of Essex, whom he thrice beat from the town. A wound in the head at Reading incapacitated Aston for a time, and through the Queen's influence he was afterwards made Governor of Oxford, but while there a horse accident necessitated the amputation of one of his legs, and his office was given by the King to Colonel Gage. Aston was said to have been the only Roman Catholic general officer in the army of Charles I., but we are told that "the Papists would not acknowledge him for a Papist." According to Lord Clarendon, who knew him personally, Aston "had the fortune to be very much esteemed where he was not known, and very much detested where he was, and he was too well known at Oxford to be beloved by any, which the King well understood, and was the more troubled, because, he said, the prejudice was universal, and with too much reason." Clarendon also observed that Aston was "a man of rough nature, and so given up to an immoderate love of money, that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it." When he went to serve the King in Ireland, he is said to have been accompanied by the "flower of the English veterans." Aston, no doubt, confidently expected that all the available Royalist forces in Ireland would be brought to his aid when he undertook to defend Drogheda against Cromwell and the army which the Parliament of England had furnished with large supplies of money, provisions, and heavy artillery. The position of Aston may be estimated from the information now brought to light for the first time from an official document drawn up at Drogheda two days before the approach of Cromwell.¹ From this we learn that the entire force of artillery in the town on the 30th of August, 1649, consisted of one master-gunner, two gunners, and three "gunners' mates." The garrison of Drogheda was composed of 320 horse and 2221 foot-soldiers. The horse were divided into five troops, commanded respectively by Major Butler, Captain Harpole, Sir John Dungan, Sir James Preston, Lieutenant-

¹ Appendix, pp. 496—500. For access to this, and other important documents, the Editor is indebted to the Marquis of Ormonde.

Colonel Dungan, Captains Plunket, Fleming, and Finglas. The foot, in four regiments, were under Colonel Byrne, Colonel Wall, Sir Edmund Verney, and Colonel Warren. The total weekly payments to the garrison at Drogheda, exclusive of extraordinary expenses, amounted to £654 12s. The rates of pay per week were as follows :

Horse : Major, £3 and £2 5s. ; Captain, £2 10s. ; Lieutenant, £1 4s. ; Chaplain, £1 1s. ; Cornet, 18s. ; Corporals and Trumpeters, 9s.

Foot : Colonel, £4 10s. ; Lieutenant-Colonel, £3 ; Major, £2 5s. ; Captain, £1 10s. ; Chaplain, 17s. 6d. ; Lieutenant, 15s. ; Quartermaster, 15s. ; Surgeon and his Mate, 18s. ; Ensign, 10s. ; Sergeants and private soldiers, 3s. 6d. ; Corporals and Drummers, 3s.

Artillery : Master Gunner, 10s. ; Gunners and Carpenters, 8s. ; Smiths, 6s. 8d. ; Gunners' mates, 5s.

Some letters, very incorrectly written and partly in cypher, which at this juncture passed to Ormonde from Aston, are still preserved at Oxford, and will be found, with a fac-simile, in the Appendix to the present volume.

From this correspondence it would appear that Aston had not adequate funds to pay the weekly charges of the garrison, nor sufficient ammunition or supplies of food. He was also much embarrassed by the movements of Lady Wilmot,¹ Lord Blayney's daughters, and other ladies, his near relatives, then in Drogheda, whom he discovered to be in communication with Colonel Michael Jones and officers of the Parliamentary army at Dublin.

Aston represented these matters to Ormonde, and requested express commands to turn Lady Wilmot "and her malignant family" out of

¹ Lady Mary Wilmot, daughter of Sir Henry Colley of Castle Carberry, co. Kildare. Her first husband was Sir Garret Moore, Baron of Mellifont, co. Louth, who died in 1627, leaving, by her, seven sons and five daughters. She re-married with Sir Charles Wilmot, Viscount Wilmot of Athlone, and died in 1654. Francis Moore, referred to by Aston, was her sixth son. Her second son, Sir James Moore, of Ardee, married Lord Blayney's daughter, Jane, one of the ladies above mentioned. Henry Wilmot, the second Viscount of Athlone, was father of John Wilmot, the noted Earl of Rochester, who died in 1680.

the town; "for," he wrote, "though she be my grandmother, I shall make powder of her, if she play me such foul play. I humbly crave your Excellency's speedy commands herein, for they are dangerous company, as the case stands with me. . The Lord Blayney's daughters wrote two of the [intercepted] papers, and my Lady Wilmot herself the third. I have put my wife's uncle, Frank Moore, in arrest. . As for the ladies, I say nothing to them until I have your Excellency's positive orders how to proceed against them." Aston averred that "those female traitors" should not fare the better by reason of his family connection with some of them. "If the old lady," he continued, "were not so near in relation unto me as she is, I should have been very sparing of any ceremonious proceedings with her." "Just now," he added, "my wife is arrived, and just now I wish she were at Athlone."

Ormonde, in reply, assured Aston that the money which he had sent him was, "to a penny," all that he had; and, in reference to the "female spies," observed that women were addicted to make little factions, but that he did not apprehend much from this. He, however, was of opinion that just occasion for the restraint of Lady Wilmot had been given by the discovery of further correspondence between her and the enemy. But, in consideration and respect of her years and quality, he conceived it sufficient for Aston to have her confined at Lord Moore's house at Mellifont, near Drogheda, so as to debar her from occasions of giving further intelligence of that kind.

Aston was also troubled by intelligence that two friars, "who intended no good," had, on the 1st of September, come into Drogheda. "It may be," he wrote, "my fortune to light upon them, which if I do, upon my credit, we shall have a rubber worse than I had with my grandmother, who, with much ado, hath yielded yesternight to leave this place, and to go to Mellifont, but sore against her wishes and highly offended with me, who am very glad to be rid of her, upon any terms, with her dear son Frank."

In September, Cromwell commenced to approach Drogheda. On the night of the second of that month, a body of horse encamped about two miles from the town. "I was, this morning, myself," wrote Aston, "out with the horse very early abroad, but finding them too strong for me to deal withal, I returned, and have left Captain Finglas on the field, with orders not to engage but upon an advantage, but only with small parties, to discover their motions. . . Just now, I have news sent me that there are about five hundred horse of the Rebels drawing towards the ford at Oldbridge, which will compel our cattle into a narrow compass."

In a letter dated at Drogheda, "about two in the afternoon," on the same day, Aston apprized Ormonde that the enemy's army, or the greater part of it, had appeared. "Their foot," he wrote, "being convoyed by an overawing power of horse, hath taken all the advantageous places without the walls, insomuch that I am very confident this night they will make their batteries, the which (all places being so serviceable unto them) we can hardly prevent; in sum, I do believe they will suddenly use their utmost violence and force, and, with God's help, we will do our endeavours to resist them; the rest I leave to God and your Excellency's provident care. I have lost one Captain of Colonel Warren's regiment, who was slain with a musket shot. Major Butler hath lost two horses, the one of them shot under himself, the other a trooper's, a soldier or two wounded, and this is all hitherto that I can inform your Excellency of, but only that, both in life and death, I am, my Lord, your Excellency's most faithful and most humble servant."

On the 5th of September, "about 7 of the clock in the morning," Aston wrote to Ormonde: "Upon Sunday last, I writ unto your Excellency, giving you notice of the enemy's approaching before this town, and that day (being only horse) they possessed themselves of divers petty castles hereabouts. Upon Monday, their foot came up, some with small field-pieces. All that day and yesterday, they only played upon our men, and they at them with muskets. Yesterday, at a low water, they passed

over some horse and foot at the ford, near the town. Our horse and some foot sallied out to prevent them, and so pressed them that before the flood towards evening they retired again over the water. As yet they have not had any considerable force upon the other side of the water. . In the meantime, our provisions waste, and seeing that I got not any contributions out of the counties, I was forced to part with half of my corn, and a good part of the last money, immediately. My Colonels and other officers are very diligent, the soldiers very laborious." He hoped shortly, he added, to hear of Ormonde's march, with a gallant army, to relieve him.

Aston, on the 8th of September, reported that he had, with success, made another "strong sally," both with horse and foot, upon the enemy's camp. "But, indeed," he wrote, "I have not been in a place worse situated for sallies than this town is. Nevertheless, if I had but ammunition, they should have little rest. But my ammunition spends very fast. I have spent above four barrels each day, ever since Sunday, and now I must, against my will, be quiet. I beseech your Excellency, send me some more ammunition. . Provisions grow short; this day I have not a penny of money; some gallant men have lost their horses, and are now on foot. I beseech your Excellency to be mindful of them. If you could speedily assault the greater camp, and that I may have notice, I will, God willing, beat up these upon St. John's hill."

Aston continued his sallies with advantage; and, during the night of the 8th of September, a reinforcement of foot from Ormonde reached Drogheda, but letters between him and the Governor were intercepted. In reference to these letters, Aston, at nine in the forenoon of the 9th of September, wrote as follows to Ormonde:

"I informed your Excellency that my ammunition was far spent, each day having cost me since Sunday last four barrels, by keeping the enemy from working and with sallies. My provisions grow short, and not a penny of money. Moreover, I informed your Excellency that if

speedily you could assault the bigger camp, I, having notice, would, God willing, beat up the lesser with the aid of a few more horse. Good my Lord, some more ammunition and money or provisions. . This day the foe discharged three pieces towards the town, whereupon I conceived a summons would follow, but as yet none is come. I am, notwithstanding, credibly informed that Cromwell intends to set his rest upon it, and if my men will but fight it out, I hope he will get his rest."

On the 10th of September, "about seven of the clock at night," Aston wrote as follows to Ormonde: "This morning, about eight of the clock, I received the enclosed summons.¹ . Since this summons, I heard no answer but by the mouth of cannon, the which hath ever since, without intermission, played upon our walls and works. They have eight pieces of battery, the least thereof shoot twelve pounds, and one of thirty pounds bullet. They have made a very great breach near the church, and I am confident their resolutions are to gain it immediately by an assault. The soldiers say well, pray God they do well. I will assure your Excellency that there will be no want in me—but your Excellency's speedy help is much desired. I refer all things to your Excellency's provident care. Living I am, and dying I will end, your Excellency's most faithful and most obliged humble servant, Arthur Aston." In a postscript, Aston added, in reference to Ormonde's letters promising the advance of Colonel Trevor and Owen O'Neill: "I hear nothing, nor have not done, of Colonel Trevor. My ammunition decays apace, and I cannot help it."

This appears to have been the last letter of Aston. Soon after it was written, the assault commenced, and the garrison, notwithstanding the want of ammunition and artillery, made a brave defence against a force stated to have been thirteen thousand in number.

Cromwell, in his official letters, reported that the assault commenced about five in the evening of Tuesday, the 10th of September.

¹ Appendix, lxii., p. 260.

"The enemy," he wrote, "made a stout resistance, and near one thousand of our men being entered, the enemy forced them out again. But God giving a new courage to our men, they attempted again, and entered, beating the enemy from their defences. The enemy had made three retrenchments, both to the right and left, where we entered ; all which they were forced to quit ; being thus entered, we refused them quarter, having the day before summoned the town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives ; those that did are in safe custody for Barbadoes. . I do not believe, neither do I hear, that any officer escaped with his life, save only one Lieutenant. . The enemy retreated, divers of them, into the Mill-Mount, a place very strong and of difficult access, being exceeding high, having a good graft and strongly pallisadoed ; the Governor, Sir Arthur Aston, and divers considerable officers being there, our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword ; and, indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town, and I think that night they put to the sword about two thousand men, divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the bridge into the other part of the town, where about one hundred of them possessed St. Peter's Church steeple, some the west gate, and others a round strong tower next the gate, called St. Sunday's. These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused ; whereupon I ordered the steeple of St. Peter's Church to be fired. . The next day the other two towers were summoned, in one of which was about six or seven score, but they refused to yield themselves ; and we knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away, until their stomachs were come down, from one of the said towers ; notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men ; when they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes ; the soldiers in the other tower

were all spared, as to their lives only, and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes.”¹

Cromwell represented to Speaker Lenthall that the severe course which he had pursued would tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future, and that in this would be found satisfactory grounds for actions “which would otherwise cause remorse and regret.”

The Marquis of Ormonde, in a letter at the time to Lord Byron, wrote as follows of Cromwell’s proceedings at Drogheda :

“He continued his battery all Monday and Tuesday, till about four of the clock in the afternoon. Having made a breach which he judged assaultable, he assaulted it, and, being twice beaten off, the third time he carried it; all his officers and the soldiers promising quarter to such as would lay down their arms, and performing it, as long as any place held out, which encouraged others to yield. But when they had once all in their power, and feared no hurt that could be done them, then the word no quarter went round, and the soldiers were many of them forced against their wills to kill their prisoners. Sir Edmund Verney, Colonel Warren, Colonel Wall, and Colonel Byrne were all killed in cold blood, as was also the Governor, and, indeed, all the officers, except some few of least consideration, that escaped by miracle. The cruelty exercised there for five days, after the town was taken, would make as many several pictures of inhumanity as are to be found in the Book of Martyrs, or in the Relation of Amboyna.”²

The author of the “Aphorismical Discovery” mentions Cromwell’s army at Drogheda as numbering twelve thousand, “with a brave train of artillery;” but in an English contemporary account his forces are set down at about thirteen thousand.

The succinct notice of “the bloody tragedy at Drogheda,” given in the “Aphorismical Discovery,” is supported, in several points, by contemporary evidence. The statements in the text, relative to the taking of

¹ Appendix, lxx., p. 263.

² Appendix, p. 271.

Drogheda in 1649, are illustrated in our Appendix by the letters of Cromwell, Hugh Peters, and the Marquis of Ormonde, together with the accounts of Lieutenant Edmund Ludlow, and Dr. George Bates.

Some circumstantial details in connection with the scenes here have been transmitted to us by the "Oxford Antiquary," Anthony Wood, whose brother, Thomas, served at Edgehill, and again at Drogheda, as a Captain in the Parliamentary army. In 1650, Captain Wood returned for a time to Oxford, and being then "often with his mother and brethren, he would," says Anthony, "tell them of the most terrible assaulting and storming of Drogheda, wherein he himself had been engaged. He told them that three thousand at least, besides some women and children, were, after the assailants had taken part, and afterwards all the town, put to the sword on the 11 and 12 of Sept. 1649, at which time Sir Arthur Aston, the Governor, had his brains beat out, and his body hacked to pieces. He told them, that when they were to make the way up to the lofts and galleries in the church, and up to the tower where the enemy had fled, each of the assailants would take up a child and use as a buckler of defence, when they ascended the steps, to keep themselves from being shot or brained. After," continues Wood, "they had killed all in the church, they went into the vaults underneath, where all the flower and choicest of the women and ladies had hid themselves. One of these, a most handsome virgin, arrayed in costly and gorgeous apparel, kneeled down to Thomas Wood with tears and prayers to save her life: And being struck with a profound pity, took her under his arm, went with her out of the church, with intentions to put her over the works to shift for herself; but a soldier, perceiving his intentions, he ran his sword through her. Whereupon Mr Wood, seeing her gasping, took away her money, jewels, etc. and flung her down over the works."¹

The loss of Drogheda was by some ascribed to the non-compliance of

¹ Appendix, p. 275.

Owen O'Neill and his Ulster party with the overtures of Ormonde to combine their forces against Cromwell and the Parliamentarians. On the 28th August, 1649, Owen O'Neill had written to Ormonde: "As for my part, no man breathing is more grieved in mind at the continual disorders and misfortune of this unhappy nation, and would more congratulate and rejoice at its settlement than I. The undeserved abuses and intolerable wrongs heretofore offered me for my reality to the good of this kingdom and nation is (I believe) partly well known to your Excellency, the redresse whereof (no wonder) ought to be insisted upon by me, and carefully looked upon by your Excellency."

The condition of the Royalists in Ireland, at this juncture, is partly exhibited in the following hitherto unpublished letter, addressed to the Marquis of Ormonde by Lord Inchiquin, who gives also in it some particulars in connection with the then recent events at Drogheda:

May it pleas your Excellencie,

Livetenant Collonell Galbreth made such haste to com away from Trim that he left the two brass peece behind him. The draw-bridge and every parte of the Castle as well as ever it was, and a good parte of the towne unburnt, and he coming to mee (aboute 12 a clock that night your Excellencie departed from us) with this accompte, the blame whereof he layed upon those with him and the gunner (who undertooke to haue the gunns fitted for a march whylest he was aboute other business). I did immediatly send a partie of horss and foote to doe that which he shoulde haue don, butt they returned with an assurance that the Rebellis were possessed of the towne and that two men they sent to the gate to see how things stood was the one of them there taken, and the other lyke to be soe, his horss being killed with a shott though he escaped. They tould mee alsoe that they were informed by the countrie people that 2000 of Cromwell's horss were seene within four mile of the towne that evening, and confident they were that they were all then att Trime and the army following them. Wherevpon wee were induced to remoue hither the next morning, being the place of greater securitie untill the forces were all gott together. Marke Trevor sent two troopers with a letter to your Excellencie, intymateing Owen O'Neill's being at Castle Blany and his intencion to joyne with him; which being considered off by vs, I did (with the advice here) write unto him, that if he had not som assurance besides bare professions from Owen, and a probabilitie that by joyneing with him som considerable service might be don, he shoulde rather com upp to us untill the agreement were made with Owen, butt left him libertie to doe what he thought fitt

My Lord of Clanrickard's forces are now com upp to us; the inclosed letter will lett you see what theyr condicion is. They have subsistence onely till Munday, and then alsoe George Vane says his men's means will be out. The mony your Excellencie left was upwards of £300 short to pay the officers a week's means, and made upp the horss-mens pay allyke, there being many of the Munster horss com upp since the weeke before and Myles Reyly his regiment

wanting the whole fortnight, as did alsoe six troopes that were with Sir Robert Talbott at Drogheda ; soe as all I could doe was to give them the mony betweene them, and upon a dividend thereof I thinke the officers haue butt two dayes pay ; whereof they doe very much complayne, being, as they say, in very greate want.

Many men, and som officers, haue made theyr escapes out of Drogheda, among which Garrett Dungan is one, and is now at Tecraghan. Som off every regiment are com unto me. All conclude that noe man [had] quarter with Crumwell's leaue ; that yett many were privatly saved by officers and souldiers ; that the Governour was killed in the Mill Mounte, after quarter given by the officer that cam first there ; that som of the towers were defended untill yesterday, quarter being denied them ; and that yesterday morneing the towers (wherein they were) were blown upp. That Varny, Finglass, Warrin, and som other officers were alieue in the hands of som of Crumwell's officers 24 howers after the business was don, butt whether theyr lives were obtayned at Crumwell's hands or that they are yett liveing they cannot tell ; that never men fought better then ours did, who maynetayned the breach untill the rebbells gott in with scaleing lathers in other places, and lett in the horss at the gates upon them ; that there neuer was seein soe cruell a fight, our horss doeing beyond expectacion, and some few of them that dyed not fighting retreated over the bridg and gott out of the towne on the north side where these men com off, saw them chargeing through Crumwell's foote neare Sunday Gate, but whether they escaped his horss or noe they cannot tell. Livetenant Collonell Cavanagh is escaped to Mark Trevor, who is at Carrichmackross. I shoulde haue sent Mark's letter, had it not fallen downe as I was putting of it in my pockett and bein troden by a horss into the dirtt.

If your Excellencie be not now able to make good provision to keepe an army on foote till Allhollantyde, the kingdom will be lost to the most tyranicall Rebbells in the world, against whome it may be easily defended if the kingdom apply themselves as they may doe to theyr own preservacion.

Wee are lyke to be in very ill takeing, if mony be not with us by Tuesday night. I doe now heare that Crumwell has sent 2000 horss towards Dundalke, whether himselfe or the army followes, I canot tell. I am

Your Excellencie's most humble servant,
Inchiquin.

Castle Joarden, 15^o Sept. 1649.

For his Excellencie, the Lord Livetenant Generall of Ireland.¹

On the 19th of Sept., some days after the capture of Drogheda, Owen O'Neill again wrote to Ormonde, thanking him for his kind expressions, as also for the other manifold cares and favours with which his Excellency had hitherto sufficiently obliged him and his army. "I would," he continued, "have begun my march out of these parts long ere now, but for an unexpected fit of sickness I took in my knee, whereof I am not fully clear as yet ; and withal that until now we made not an end of our accounts with Sir Charles Coote. However, to-morrow morning

¹ Papers of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, 1649, No. 124.—Bodleian Library, Oxford.

(God willing) I will begin my march upwards, and when we a-near them parts, your Excellency will hear further."

On the 24th September, O'Neill wrote to Ormonde: "I am heartily sorry that the presumption and pride of my ill wishers so far prevailed hitherto, as to hinder my co-operation with your Excellency in giving a real testimony of my fidelity to my King, country, and nation, by making timely use of my slender endeavours (though inconsiderable soever they be) for the prevention of the present sad accidents, whereat (I call God to witness) I grieve and condole as much as any man breathing. However, (I hope) matters may yet do well. I am now in my march with the army upwards, and will lose as little time as I can until I come to the county of Cavan, and from thence your Excellency will more at large hear."

Daniel O'Neill, on the following day, the 25th September, 1649, wrote as follows to Lord Inchiquin, President of Munster:

"Just now, I received your Lordship's of the 17th, with that to my uncle, whose unfortunate sickness hindered him with his army to be near you these ten days; his own letter tells you of his being upon his march, which I fear his indisposition will not give way to be so speedy as your occasion and his own desire would have it, for he is carried in a litter, which he indures but ill; he has much of your Lordship's apprehension for Tecroghan, yet would not have Cromwell fought with, but upon great advantages, for he believes our men are much out of heart, and that [the defending of] passes and the season must beat Cromwell more than any forces we can bring against him. It is very true that I think I am more happy in my last negociation than in any of my former, yet I take God to witness I have been no less zealous in all the rest. . . The army is this night at Omy; six days hence the General hopes to be in Westmeath; he hopes to march six thousand foot, besides what he leaves to assist the rising of the Scots again against Derry, whither is lately come nine hundred foote, [under] one Hunkes, I believe Sir Fulke's brother: I

hope his Excellency will find me more fortunate in my negociation than I have been in my dispatches to him, my first and my third being brought back from the county of Cavan to my uncle, which made me resolve not to write until the country understand of a better correspondence between his Excellency and this party."

Thomas Talbot, a Jesuit, arrived about this time in Ireland from France, as an agent from Charles II. Talbot, by Commission signed by Charles at St. Germain, on the 9th of September, was directed to repair speedily into Ireland to carry out the instructions given to him and to deliver letters from the King, but to be guided altogether by the Marquis of Ormonde. Much of this Commission had reference to General Owen O'Neill. Talbot was to assure him that the King intended, on his returning to his obedience, to confer upon him honors, rewards, and trusts in his service, and to confirm as his own all acts executed by Ormonde in favour of O'Neill. He was also to represent the King's beneficent intentions towards the principal persons of O'Neill's party and his other Roman Catholic subjects in Ireland, whom he was to enjoin to agree and unite, as distraction, danger and ruin were evidently threatened to their religion and nation. "For," continued the Commission, "as they cannot but know what resolutions have been formerly taken by the Rebels in England to root out their nation and religion, so they may be assured of the sad effects of that resolution if Cromwell should, by the advantage of their distractions, disunion, and disobedience to us, destroy our forces in that kingdom. We, being at this time advertised and assured that their intentions are as much to root out the nation and the Roman Catholic religion, yea, and O'Neill himself, as to deprive us of our just rights, power, and authority, in that kingdom, whatsoever overtures of seeming advantage they may for the present make to them, their intentions therein being the rather evident in that they have disavowed Monk in his late proceedings and treaty with General O'Neill; and if they shall now underhand make any new offers to treat with him, it is with design to

make use of him and his party to oppose our forces, which being once destroyed they will afterwards with ease destroy him and those that join with him.”¹

Talbot was to assure the King’s Roman Catholic subjects and their clergy in Ireland that they might expect all fitting favours from him, and much more than they could hope for from “those false and faithless traitors, the Rebels of England.”

Letters, signed by the King and entrusted to Talbot, were addressed to General Owen O’Neill, Lieutenant-General Ferrall, Colonel Philip O’Reilly, and Colonel Bryan O’Byrne.² In these letters the King appealed to them to return to their allegiance and thus contribute to the peace and settlement of the miserably distracted kingdom of Ireland, and to the security of their religion and nation, again invaded by the common enemies of both. He assured them that he would not fail to acknowledge suitably their good endeavours, and prayed them to place confidence in the bearer, Father Talbot, whom he had authorised to communicate with them. Daniel O’Neill, writing to Ormonde on the 28th of September, mentioned that his uncle, General O’Neill, would have been upon his march three weeks before that time, if an unfortunate sickness had not hindered him; but that, as soon as he had got some ease, he had begun his journey, “though in a very homely litter.”

By a letter of the same date, Ormonde apprized Daniel O’Neill that he had expected long before then the arrival of his uncle with his army. He added as follows: “What his impediments are, whether in his health or in his will, is the subject of much discourse. I, for my part, cannot believe he wants a foresight of his own ruin, with his whole nation’s, in the prevailing of the Rebels, however he may be otherwise promised in their name by some corrupted emissaries; and I cannot harbour so mean a thought of him, that he can be bought by any private advantage to be a looker on in the destruction of his country, whilst his appearing may

¹ Appendix lv., p. 255.

² Appendix, 256-7.

preserve it. I beseech you, let us be put out of our pain concerning him, and let us know what may be hoped for. There are two Fathers employed to him from the King. One of them, Fr. Nugent, was sent with some authority from him, the Bishop of Clogher [Emer Mac Mahon], and [Lieutenant-General] Farrell, to the King and Queen. They have both directions to impart their negociations with you, and to be governed by you in them. Nugent pretends to much power with your uncle, and believes that till he [should] come, if he had stayed a year, nothing would be done: our King [Charles II.] is at Jersey, and his fleet ready to set to sea. If we were assured of your uncle, I should be more positive in my advice for his coming over [to Ireland] than I dare till then be."

On the same day, Ormonde apprized Owen O'Neill that, his Majesty having, in his letters by Father Talbot, invited him to concur in preserving the King's interest in Ireland "against the power of those rebels that designed the extirpation of that nation," he had thought it fit to accompany them with an assurance that he should not be wanting to represent his services in the best manner, and to procure a full accomplishment of the Royal intentions, which he knew to be favourable to him.

Father Talbot was instructed by Ormonde to repair to General Owen O'Neill and to deliver to him the Royal and Viceregal letters. In these negociations Charles II. and Ormonde employed also Father Francis Nugent, who, as already mentioned,¹ had been despatched to the Queen and her son with a letter of credence signed by Owen O'Neill, Bishop Mac Mahon, and General Ferrall. Nugent had now returned to Ireland with a Royal letter, directed to Ormonde, commanding him, "by all fair invitations," to draw General Owen O'Neill and his party to submit to their lawful sovereign. Nugent was officially instructed by Ormonde to intimate to Owen O'Neill that he, as Viceroy, was prepared, under the King's authority, to fulfil the conditions which, it was understood, would be accepted as satisfactory by the Ulster General. Those conditions

¹ Vol. i. pp. xl and 772.

included full liberty of conscience throughout the kingdom; and an undertaking that the post of Commander-in-chief under the King, and the title of an Earl, should be conferred on General O'Neill. Both Talbot and Nugent were instructed by Ormonde to be guided entirely in these affairs by the direction of Colonel Daniel O'Neill.

On the 6th of October, 1649, Daniel O'Neill communicated with Ormonde upon the negotiations in progress between Bishop Mac Mahon and Torlogh O'Boyle, on behalf of Owen O'Neill, with the Viceregal Commissioners, Sir Nicholas Plunket and Sir Richard Barnwall. "Yesterday," wrote Daniel, "both the Bishop and I sent to my uncle to have his resolution upon what is in dispute: this night or to-morrow betimes we expect our messenger. I am confident he will not insist upon anything that will hinder an agreement, since the Bishop and Sir Nicholas Plunket have agreed upon an expedient about the excommunication which has so troubled that superstitious old uncle of mine in his sickness, that I could render him to no reason. This expedient has no relation to your Excellency or his Majesty more than your connivance at the clergy's meeting, for the satisfaction of tender consciences, as they say. I am the more confident that matters will soon be agreed upon, that my uncle, upon my parting with him, which was two days after the Bishop, gave me instructions not to insist either upon his having Carrickfergus or Enniskillen, nor of the generalship of Ulster, for he found they were not things fit for your Excellency to grant at this time. The Bishop is of that sense also, and has writ so much to the General. By this your Excellency sees that the delay complained of by your Excellency is occasioned by the sickness of my uncle and not in his will, which I believe real to serve his Majesty and your Excellency. He is still very ill, notwithstanding he marches in a litter, but slowly."

Early in October, Wexford was besieged by Cromwell, a contemporary official "perfect and particular relation" of whose proceedings there, together with his letter to Lenthal on the same subject, will be found in

our Appendix. A facsimile is also given of Cromwell's letter addressed to the Commander-in-Chief in Wexford, on the 11th of October, the day on which the town was captured.

The details on the subject of Wexford in the "Aphorismical Discovery" are brief. The author states that Cromwell marched through the town, "slaughtering all that came in his way, without exception of sex or person, age or condition."

Seven days after the capture of Wexford, we find Ormonde, by letter assuring Owen O'Neill that, besides the satisfaction he received in his conjunction with him, it was a great addition of contentment to him that he should have means of being better known to him, and of letting him see how great a value he set upon his person and advice in the weighty and perilous business he had in hand. "Let me also assure you," he added, "that it is my desire to contract a very real friendship with you, such as may engage me to make your interest and satisfaction my care as much as you can expect or is in my power."

The town of Ross was besieged by Cromwell on the 17th of October, 1649. Particulars of the negotiations between him and the governor, Lucas Taaffe, are given in the Appendix.¹ In a letter to Taaffe, Cromwell wrote as follows: "For that which you mention concerning liberty of conscience, I meddle not with any man's conscience. But if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know where the Parliament of England hath power, that will not be allowed of."

Articles for the surrender of Ross were signed on the 19th of October, while, according to Cromwell, his batteries still played and his men were drawn out in readiness to storm the town, Lieutenant-Colonel Ingoldsby having been by lot chosen to lead them. The contemporary official writer mentions that, after the Governor, Taaffe, had sent out four hostages to perfect the articles of surrender, the batteries ceased

¹ cii., p. 307.

playing, "and," he observes, "our intentions to storm the town were disappointed."

In our Appendix are papers, containing spirited proposals for attacking Cromwell's camp at Wexford, and for the recovery of Ross. The paper on the latter is accompanied by a sketch of the town, of which a facsimile will be found at p. 312.

During the early part of September, Sir Nicholas Plunket and Sir Richard Barnewall, commissioned by Ormonde, were in treaty in Ulster with Owen O'Neill and his party. O'Neill and his associates entertained conscientious objections to enter into terms with any of those of their own religion who had, they conceived, insulted the Pope, by their conduct towards his Nuncio, Rinuccini, and against whom the latter had issued an excommunication. Daniel O'Neill found his uncle inflexible on this point, which, he observed, "had troubled him much in his sickness." To remove the difficulty, Plunket and Barnewall signed an instrument, undertaking, on behalf of those of the Supreme Council and of the clergy who had differed from the Nuncio, that they would supplicate the Pope to free Ireland from the excommunication. The Commissioners also undertook that they and the clergy would write to the Nuncio, "in a loving and friendly manner, desiring that he would be pleased to forget all former passages, at which his Lordship took any offence, and that he would be pleased to be a patron and intercessor unto them with his Holiness in all occasions."¹ After the signature of this agreement, articles were concluded between Sir Nicholas Plunket and Sir Richard Barnwall on the part of Ormonde, and by Bishop Mac Mahon and Torlogh O'Boyle,² on behalf of O'Neill and the Ulster Party. Amongst the provisions in these Articles³ were the following :

The Bishops, and Roman Catholic ecclesiastics in Ireland, including the

¹ Book iv., Chapter xiv., p. 53.

³ Appendix, xcvi., p. 300.

² Torlogh O'Boyle was a member of the Council of the Confederates. His sept, styled in Irish, *Ui Baoighill*, from their progenitor, *Baighell*, in the tenth century, were of the same stock with the O'Neills and O'Donels, and held large possessions in Tir Connell, now Donegal.

adherents of Owen O'Neill, were to have the benefit of the late articles of peace concerning churches, church livings, and the free exercise of religion.

General Owen O'Neill was to have command of three thousand foot under eight Colonels, and eight hundred horse under the command of two Colonels, subject to the orders of the Viceroy. In case of O'Neill's death, or removal, the nobility and gentry of Ulster were to have power to name to the Viceroy another to command in his place. O'Neill and his party were to have the benefit of the articles of peace in matters concerning the demands touching the Plantations in Ulster, and all other advantages derivable under those articles. An Act of Oblivion was to be passed, to take effect from the 22nd of October, 1641. The Leinster forces, under the command of Colonel Brian Mac Phelim O'Byrne, were to be established as part of the army of the kingdom.

On the 1st November, Owen O'Neill, by letter, assured Ormonde that, with a willing heart and cheerful mind, he would comply with his Excellency's instructions, "were it not," he wrote, "for the unhappy infirmity by which I am now reduced to that condition as that, for the whole world, I cannot stir, or sit in my bed, but when I am helped or supported by others. Yet, these two days past, I begin to mend a little better than I was, so as I hope, by the help of God, soon to recover so far as that I shall be able to enjoy the happiness of kissing your Excellency's hand, which I long for more than any earthly comfort. The precipitation," he continued, "of fighting with Cromwell (his army being hitherto victorious), whereunto your Excellency is persuaded by many, is of a most dangerous consequence, for the loss of the few men you have (who in prosperity and adversity will faithfully stick to your Excellency) would produce no other effect than the loss of your Excellency and consequently of the whole kingdom; for if any disaster (God forbid) should now attend your army, your Excellency would questionless be soon after betrayed into the hands of Cromwell."¹

¹ Appendix, cviii., p. 314.

On the same day—the first of November—Owen O'Neill addressed another communication to Ormonde. This, which appears to have been his last letter, commenced as follows: "Being now in my death-bed (without any great hope of my recovery) I call my Saviour to witness, that (as I hope for salvation) my resolution, ways, and intentions (from first to last in these unhappy wars) tended to no particular ambition or private interest of mine own, notwithstanding what was or may be thought of to the contrary, but truly and sincerely to the preservation of my religion, the advancement of his Majesty's service, and just liberties of this nation: whereof, and of my particular reality and willingness to serve your Excellency (above any other in this kingdom), I hope that God will permit me to give ample and sufficient testimony in the view of the world ere it be long. However, if in the interim God pleaseth to call me away, I do most seriously recommend to your Excellency's care my son and heir, Colonel Henry O'Neill: praying and desiring that your Excellency may be favourably pleased, not only to prescribe a present course that he may participate of the late Peace, but also of the benefit of such conditions, concessions, [and] creation, as his Majesty intended for me, and was assured for me by your Excellency in his Majesty's name, by an instrument bearing date at Kilkenny, the 29th of September last."¹

A facsimile of the conclusion of this letter is given in our Appendix. The debilitated condition of the writer may be inferred from the style of the signature as compared with his earlier autograph reproduced on the same plate.

Owen O'Neill's political opponents did not hesitate to ascribe his delays in coming to terms with the King's party to his expectations of obtaining better conditions for himself from Cromwell and the Parliamentarians, and they alleged that in these matters he was influenced more by personal than by public considerations. His death, according to the "Aphorismical Discovery," took place on the 6th of November, 1649.

¹ Appendix, cix., p. 315.

The author's "Lamentation" for General Owen O'Neill occupies the seventeenth chapter of the fourth book of the "Aphorismical Discovery." "Alas," he writes, "what apology can I make for the commencement of the ensuing scene? What angel wit and dexter pen have I need of to present unto public view the moan of my groaning heart?" Don Eugenius, or Owen O'Neill, "a soldier since a boy, in the only martial academy of Christendom—Flanders—never drew his sword unto his dying day other than in Catholic religion's defence, as witness Bohemia, Sweland, Frizland, Holland, Norway, Denmark, and now Ireland. . By his death the enemy is grown strong and cruel, no city, fort, or town do oppose him, no church, monastery, or religious house inhabited, the militia discouraged, dishearted, and grown coward, none to show his face in the field, for now the enemy do not fear the naming of General Owen O'Neill, which not long before did sound like a thunder-bolt in his ears. This is it that I lament, the death of so well-deserving a man, in the whole kingdom the only stickler of both religion and nation, whose now want is the cause of all the woe and evil happening unto us, whose only name (if but like an echo uttered, and his corpse in a cradle or chariot carried) would keep life and breath in the decayed affairs of Ireland, and discourage the now victor-enemy. What," he continues, "will the poor northern people do now? . Your father, your General, your ruler, and your steerer, is now wanting! . Some, deeming God, in his Divine clemency, not to deal so strait with this poor nation, as to bereave them of this their only champion, rather the world being not worthy of so good a master-piece, lulled him asleep, snatched him away to some secret corner of the world (as another Elias) to keep him there for future better purposes; the ground of this surmise—that sleep and death are brothers, and therefore not easy to discern between both, other than by the effects. As long as he breathed life, we were to stand in possession of this land, or the best part thereof, now all whipped and snatched out of our hands."

That General Owen O'Neill's public acts were in accordance with the views of the more eminent of his own party may be inferred from the terms in which about a year after his death he was mentioned in the Declaration of the Congregation of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ulster, presided over by the Primate, Hugh O'Reilly. In that instrument he is referred to as "His Excellency, Owen O'Neill of happy memory, sometime General of the Catholic army of Ireland."

The author of a Latin epitaph on Owen O'Neill, preserved in Florence,¹ characterised him as

"— ille ingens patriæ defensor O'Nellus,
Nobilis ingenio, sanguine, Marte, fide."

O'Neill's death was kept concealed for some days. Certain intelligence of it does not appear to have reached his confidential counsellor, Bishop Mac Mahon, at Kilkenny, till the 11th of November. On that day the Bishop apprized Ormonde that he might rest assured of the death of General Owen O'Neill, "which," he wrote, "for many reasons, I thought requisite to advertise your Excellency with much speed. I have not yet made use of the letter directed to the army, but now I send it by the bearer, Father Nicholas Bern, and I am of opinion that it is fit to deliver the same out of hand; but to deliver it, or not, your Excellency knows best, to whose judgment I submit my reasons for delivering the said letter timely, [which] I have entrusted with the bearer, who will acquaint your Excellency therewith. The Lord General's death here is known but to a few, who will keep it secret as long as may be, which I hold to be the best way for a time; and so I kiss your Excellency's hand."

On the same day the Roman Catholic Primate, the Bishops of Kilmore and Down and Connor, and four of the Ulster commanders, in compliance with an injunction from their late General, addressed a letter to Ormonde. In this they stated that Owen O'Neill's son and heir, Colonel Henry O'Neill, would have long before waited on him, were he not attending

¹ Appendix, 39, p. 463.

on his father's sickness; that he was then on his way to Ormonde, and that he would give information as to particulars of the will of his father, who, they wrote, was confident that his Excellency would have a fatherly care of his child. A facsimile of this letter will be found at page 317.

During the illness of General Owen O'Neill, the Ulster army was conducted by Lieutenant-General Richard Ferrall¹ and Major-General Hugh O'Neill. From a letter in the Appendix it would appear that Ormonde desired that Daniel O'Neill should be appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Ulster forces in succession to his deceased uncle. Daniel, however, advocated the claims of his own cousin, Major-General Hugh O'Neill. "I am of opinion," he wrote to Ormonde, "that it were not amiss in the first place to send him to this [Ulster] party if the Bishop [Mac Mahon] advise it; for besides that he is a man that knew best the ways Owen O'Neill took to manage these people, he is one that will not be unacceptable to the Scots, and certainly will do nothing contrary to your Excellency's command." In further reference to this subject, and to Bishop Mac Mahon's influence over his countrymen in Ulster, Daniel O'Neill, writing to the Viceroy, Ormonde, in January, 1649-50, observed:

"There are such animosities of counties and of families against one another, that nothing will be determined at any of their meetings unless the Bishop be there to moderate their follies. If your Excellency will not send him presently thither you may expect little good out of that province. I humbly beg of your Excellency not to believe it the effects of melancholy or despair that made me give your Excellency the last account I gave you of the north, or to be of opinion that Hugh is fitter for that service than myself. It was really my want of health, and the indisposition I found universally in the clergy to have me command those Ulster forces, which still obliges me to give your Excellency my opinion

¹ A facsimile of a letter of Lieutenant-General Ferrall is given at page 304. The list of his regiment will be found at page 505 of the present volume.

that you cannot employ any that will be more serviceable to your Excellency, or more acceptable to the Irish and Scots, than Hugh O'Neill."

At a general meeting held subsequently by the gentry of the province of Ulster, it was agreed that Bishop Mac Mahon should be appointed to the command, and this nomination was officially confirmed by Ormonde as Viceroy.

A brief report, dated at Clonmel, 30th of November, 1649, on the state of the King's army in Ireland and on the strength of Cromwell's forces, was transmitted to Charles II. from Ormonde by Mr. Seymour, of His Majesty's Bedchamber, who had been sent specially to Ireland for those particulars. This report, consisting of nine sections, will be found in the Appendix.¹ In it Ormonde refers to the great amount of treasure brought over and effectively used by Cromwell, while even a moderate sum of money was urgently wanted to encourage and support the King's army for a short time. He mentions that the winter was fairer than any within the memory of man ; that Cromwell had begun to force contributions from the districts under his control ; that his evident design was first to master the sea-coast, and then by degrees the inland towns and country ; and that all Cromwell had gained could be recovered if he were disappointed in obtaining recruits and supplies from England. Ormonde also stated that on the conclusion of the treaty he had been joined by Owen O'Neill's army, consisting of a very considerable body of good foot, who, notwithstanding the death of their General, were very cheerful in the service and likely to prove yet more considerable.

In a letter from Cork, on the 19th of December, 1649, Cromwell gave Lenthal an account of his proceedings. It has been recently ascertained, through the investigations of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, that, in the copy of this letter printed by Parliamentary authority at London, various portions were omitted, with the object, probably, of presenting to the public in England a more favourable view of Cromwell's

¹ Appendix, p. 465.

progress in Ireland, than circumstances actually warranted. The letter, as well as the omitted portions, will be found in the Appendix to the present volume.

In these suppressed passages, Cromwell mentioned, in reference to the necessity of fresh supplies from England, that there was an aptness in England, from a current of successes, to suppose a work to have been completed, when the greater part still remained to be done; and that although he had brought under control "a great tract of land in longitude along the shore," yet it had but little depth into the country.

Cromwell referred to himself and his companions as "a crazy company," and observed that it was above him to speak of what England had lost by the recent death of his noble friend and companion in arms, Lieutenant-General Michael Jones, who had been cut off, at Dungarvan, by "a pestilent and contagious spotted fever."

Notwithstanding this public panegyric, we know that great distrust and enmity existed at this time between Jones and Cromwell and his son-in-law, Ireton. A strict surveillance was maintained by them over the movements of Jones, who, shortly before his death, was engaged in devising projects "to beat Cromwell out of Ireland." We are told that "one Mrs. Chaplain," daughter of the minister of Dungarvan, under the Cromwellians, and who lived in the house in which Jones died, "often said that it was confidently believed that Cromwell had found means to poison Jones."¹

In March, 1649-50, the Castle of Gowran, near Kilkenny, after a considerable breach had been made by artillery, was surrendered to Cromwell. Its commander, Colonel Hammond, a Kentish man, together with the rest of the commissioned officers in the castle, with the exception of one, was shot, and the Roman Catholic chaplain was hanged.

Kilkenny was summoned to surrender by Cromwell on the 23rd March,

¹ The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford. By Charles Smith, M.D. 1774, p. 66.

1649-50; but Sir Walter Butler, Governor of the Castle, replied that he was resolved, by the power of God, to retain the city for his Majesty. In reply to a second overture from Cromwell, Sir Walter wrote—"I have such confidence in God to maintain this place, as I will not lose it upon such terms as you offer, but will sooner lose my life, and the lives of all that are here, rather than submit to such dishonourable conditions."

From Cromwell's official letter we learn that his batteries began to play on the 25th March, and that, after nearly a hundred shot, a breach was made. The soldiers, upon signal, fell upon the breach, but, having been beaten off, with the loss of their captain and some men, they ceased to contend for entrance there, deeming it too dangerous. Having obtained possession of the "Irish town," eight companies of foot were sent over the river to take the walled town on the other side. In attempting to pass the bridge and fire the gate, several of this party were killed, which was regarded as a "sore blow" by the commanders. After a second battery had been nearly completed, negotiations were re-opened, "upon soldier-like conditions," for a treaty, which was concluded on the 27th of March, 1650.

In our Appendix will be found the correspondence which took place at Kilkenny between Cromwell and Sir Walter Butler, Governor of the Castle, and the Mayor, together with the articles of capitulation, as also Cromwell's communication to the House of Commons in London, and a notice of the siege by Dr. George Bates.

The "Aphorismical" author speaks favourably of Sir Walter Butler, and ascribes the surrender of Kilkenny to the conduct of the townsmen. They, however, in a petition to Charles II., referred as follows to these transactions:—

"Oliver Cromwell, with his forces, in the latter end of the year 1649, laid a strict siege to that city [Kilkenny], which enduring for six or seven days, and your petitioners having not sufficient forces to defend the same, nor hope of relief, by reason of the plague and great sickness then

raging in the said city, they, the petitioners, after suffering in a high degree all the extremities of the plague, fire, and sword, and four several storms in several parts of the city, which were repulsed, and after a great breach made in their walls by cannon shot of above fifty great bullets, all for standing for your Majesty's interest; at last, by direction or allowance of the Commander-in-Chief of your Majesty's forces in these parts to Sir Walter Butler, Baronet, then appointed and being Governor of the said city and Castle of Kilkenny, under the said Lord Marquis [o Ormonde], they yielded upon quarter given by the said usurper, the 27th day of March, 1650, for the Governor and soldiers' departure with bag and baggage, and for securing of petitioners in their lives, estates, and goods, from the violence of the soldiery, the petitioners having been forced to pay two thousand pounds sterling, and upwards, to the said usurper, for the making good of that quarter."

Cromwell, on the 26th of April, 1650, issued a declaration as to the conditions which he was prepared to grant to those of the Protestants in Ireland, under the jurisdiction of Ormonde, who would undertake to transport themselves "beyond the sea." These articles, extending to ten sections, are given in the Appendix,¹ together with particulars of the number of horses, swords, and pistols to be allowed by Cromwell to the officers, gentlemen, and clergymen, who would accept his terms.

Ormonde, it appears, from letters in the Appendix,² at this time indignantly rejected a passport brought to him from Cromwell by Michael Boyle, Dean of Lismore. In a letter to Cromwell, Ormonde wrote: "I had no intention to treat with you for a pass or any other thing. I have by this trumpeter returned you your paper, and for your unsought curtesy do assure you when you shall desire a pass from me, I shall not make use of it to corrupt any that commands under you."

Of the remarkable defence of Clonmel against Cromwell by Major-General Hugh O'Neill, an interesting account is given in the "Aphorism-

¹ Appendix, clxxxv-vi., pp. 393-96.

² Appendix, cxcix., p. 406; cc., p. 407; cciv., p. 411.

mical Discovery." The author describes the difficult circumstances of O'Neill within the town, and appears not to have exaggerated the determination and courage displayed by him and the garrison. The "Aphorismical" writer speaks of the latter as "a handful of men," in comparison with the "multitude" of the horse and foot under Cromwell, who, as it appears from other sources, were supported also by heavy artillery. We read in the "Aphorismical" narrative that the siege continued during five months; that on one day the storming parties were beaten back three several times; and that, on the last attack, which was both "furious and hot," so many of those who first entered the breach were "massacred and butchered," that neither the threats of Cromwell, nor "the bloody sword" of inferior officers, was sufficient to keep their comrades from "turning tail to the assault," and they returned to the camp, "leaving Major-General O'Neill in the possession of a bloody wall."

Additional details, relative to the siege of Clonmel, are given in the contemporary letters and documents in our Appendix.¹ From these we learn that most of the foot soldiers in that garrison, under Hugh O'Neill, were Ulstermen, and that Cromwell lost there nearly two thousand five hundred men, with many officers. A letter of the period mentions that the Cromwellians encountered at Clonmel "the stoutest enemy that ever was found by the army in Ireland, and that there was never seen so hot a storm of so long continuance, and so gallantly defended, neither in England nor Ireland."

The articles between Cromwell and the inhabitants of Clonmel were concluded on the 18th May, 1650. A military writer of the time states

¹ cci., p. 408; ccv., 411. See also, at p. 500, some hitherto unprinted memoranda, signed by Major-General Hugh O'Neill, in connection with the garrison of Clonmel, in 1649-50, together with a return of the muster of the Ulster horse and foot in that town. The foot, numbering about twelve hundred, were under the command of Colonel Torlogh O'Neill and Colonel Philip Mac Hugh O'Reilly. The horse, comprising about fifty troopers, were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Fennell and Captain Piers Butler. Appendix, p. 502.

that Cromwell lost at this siege and storm of Clonmel more than by all the towns he stormed and took in Ireland; and that he was there "as much vexed as ever he was, since he first put on a helmet against the King, for such a repulse he did not usually meet with." Another contemporary writer observed that Cromwell would have lost a great many more men at Clonmel, and gone at last without it, had not the people of Waterford unhappily failed to send the garrison ammunition, as they had promised.

The "Aphorismical" author mentions, that Cromwell "commended the Major [Hugh O'Neill] for a brave soldier, and accused his own retrograde fortune as not able to win one petty town perforce (after all his victories), or wrest it by fine force out of the hands of one single man (who properly was no more, compared unto his multitude), so long a time without relief."

On the 20th of May, 1650, a Declaration was issued at Charlemont by Bishop Mac Mahon, in conjunction with the nobility, gentry, and commanders of the Royalist forces in the province of Ulster. In this document, the Ulster leaders declared that they had been aspersed by statements that their intentions and actions tended to their own particular ends and private aims, rather than to the advancement or preservation of the King's interest, crown, or dignity, in Ireland. Those evil practices, they averred, could produce nothing but sad, "detractive," and lamentable effects, with a continuation of the mischiefs "perpetrated by the practice and policy of the upstarts of England," who at that time trampled "under foot, in misery, thralldom, and slavery, the nobility and gentry of that kingdom, by raising and exalting the basest abortive scums of England to the greatest height of power, honour, and command." They deplored the results of the evil practices of the Parliamentarians of England, in misleading and deluding the Scots of Ireland, and withdrawing them from the conjunction which the Royalists of Ulster had expected from them for the prosecution of the war on his Majesty's behalf.

The Ulster Declaration concluded as follows: "For the clearing and removal of all past misunderstanding and mischievous practice of that kind on our parts, and prevention of any the like jealousy and discord hereafter, we thought it necessary, and do accordingly declare and avow in the sight of the great God of heaven and the world, that our intention and resolution is (to the last man) to endeavour, with the loss of our lives, estates, and fortunes, the advancement and preservation of his Majesty's service and interest in this kingdom, and of all those whomsoever that prosecute his quarrel so far forth as we be not troubled in the free exercise of our religion; as we will no way hinder or trouble any person or persons of what nation or quality soever adhering to his Majesty, to exercise and embrace his or their own profession or religion. All which (with God's assistance) our actions shall ere long more expressly manifest in the view of the world. Finally, it is our intention that we shall make no distinction or difference between ourselves and so many of the Scottish or other nation whatsoever that now shall (as we invite them) with heart and hand join in his Majesty's service, or in any way freely contribute to or countenance the same, but as becometh brethren and fellow-subjects engaged in one quarrel for their true and lawful King."¹

Cromwell embarked for England, at Youghal, on the 29th of May, 1650. On the 4th of June, he came to the House of Commons in London, where the Speaker, by order of the House, gave him their hearty thanks for "his great and faithful services unto the Parliament and Commonwealth."

On the 11th of June, Cromwell made a full relation to the Parliament of the whole state of the affairs of Ireland, as well in reference to the forces of the enemy, and the places still in their power, as to the Parliament's army and officers both in garrison and in the field.

On Cromwell's proceedings in Ireland the author of the "Aphorismical Discovery" observed: "Sure, though fortunate, [he] can little boast of

¹ Appendix, ccviii., p. 418.

his service in Ireland, as having all he had therein by the distraction and division of the nation, treachery, and faction of corrupt members, and Clonmel for want of ammunition, but here not opposed to any purpose since his arrival to Ireland." It may be added that Cromwell's operations were much facilitated by the measures successfully adopted to induce the English officers in Cork, and other Southern towns, to withdraw from their fealty to the Crown, and voluntarily to surrender the garrisons to the Cromwellians, who passed a special Act of Parliament to reward them for these services.

The documents in our present volume, in relation to Cromwell while in Ireland, form a more complete collection of contemporary information on that subject than has been hitherto accessible.

In the seventh and eighth chapters of the fourth book of the "Aphorismical Discovery," the author notices the debate which preceded the battle at Scarriffhollis,¹ near Letterkenny, in Donegal, in June, 1650, and the subsequent conflict which proved so disastrous to the Ulster army under Bishop Mac Mahon. Henry O'Neill, son of the late General, is represented to have argued against risking an encounter with the more numerous and better provided forces commanded by Sir Charles Coote. Bishop Mac Mahon urged the opposite view, in language which, we are told, so transported the Ulstermen beyond the limits of reason, that, "oblivious of all military advantage, or indifference of either ground or elements, putting themselves in a distracted posture of battle, where their horse could scarce relieve the foot—both wind and weather were not their friends—with these unparalleled inequalities and disproportioned advantage, both the foot began the skirmish on either side."

Henry O'Neill, who is stated to have been endowed by nature with every grace of mind and person, was, with other prisoners taken in this engagement, executed in July, 1650, at Londonderry. Sir Richard Cox, commenting, in 1689, on the variety and vicissitude of those times,

¹ Also written Skirfolas. In Gaelic, *Sgairbh sholais*.

observes, with reference to Henry O'Neill and his fellow-sufferers, whose heads were placed on the walls of Londonderry, that, within less than a year before, they had been in confederation with Sir Charles Coote, and had "raised the siege of that city, and were jovially merry at his table in the quality of friends."

In the "Aphorismical Discovery," the fate of these Ulster officers forms the subject of the author's "moan for the family of O'Neill," by the successive deaths of members of which "the martial theatre, Ulster, the only human support of the whole kingdom, was left derelict." "Though now," he writes, "this most noble family is overcome, vanquished, buried, and dead, through iniquity and perfidy, let none persuade himself that God, in His Divine wisdom and incomprehensible providence, will give way unto the annihilation of so worthy and well-meriting a stock, but rather resuscitate the withered and rotten bones of those true Israelites."

After the defeat at Scarriffhollis, Bishop Mac Mahon, with a small party, escaped on horseback, "going both day and night for twenty-four hours, without meat, drink, or rest." Information on his movements having been conveyed to the Governor of Enniskillen, a party of horse was despatched from that garrison to capture him and his companions. The party, according to Lord Clarendon, was too strong for the Bishop, who, however, "defended himself with notable courage; but, after he had received many wounds, he was forced to become prisoner, upon promise first that he should have fair quarter, contrary to which Sir Charles Coote, as soon as he knew he was a prisoner, caused him to be hanged, with all the circumstances of contumely, reproach, and cruelty he could devise."

Lord Clarendon observed, as a remarkable circumstance in connexion with Bishop Mac Mahon, that "in less than a year after he had brought Owen O'Neill to relieve Sir Charles Coote in Derry (who must otherwise in a few days have delivered it up to the King), his army was defeated by the same Sir Charles Coote, and himself, after quarter and life

promised, executed by the positive order and command of him whom he had thus preserved."

Few details in connexion with Bishop Emer Mac Mahon¹ are to be found in the pages of the "Aphorismical Discovery," although we know from other sources that he was a principal counsellor and adviser of Owen O'Neill and the Ulster party. From documents at Rome we learn that he was a member of a chief family of one of the old Ulster septs, and a native of Farney, in the county of Monaghan, where he was born about the year 1600. He studied at Douai, was subsequently head of the Irish College at Louvain, and, returning to Ireland, was appointed Vicar-Apostolic of the diocese of Clogher in Tyrone. He entered actively into the organizations in Ireland which produced the movement of 1641, in which many of his kindred were engaged; he was also in close communication with Owen O'Neill and his countrymen on the Continent. The Archbishop of Armagh, and the Bishops of Meath and Kilmore, having borne testimony of the great merit, integrity, and religious zeal of Emer Mac Mahon, he was, in 1642, at the instance of Cardinal Barberini, appointed to the see of Down and Connor, described as being then in a deplorably impoverished condition. As Bishop-elect, he took part in and signed the acts of the Irish Congregation at Kilkenny in May, 1642. In the following year Bishop Mac Mahon was translated to the see of Clogher, in compliance with a petition from the Supreme Council of the Irish Confederates. They represented that his residence in the remote diocese of Down and Connor deprived them of his services, which were of high value to their deliberations.

Rinuccini, who had frequent intercourse with Mac Mahon, described him as of more resolution and spirit than some of the older bishops, but

¹ Emer, Emhear or Eibhear, was, according to old Gaelic legends, a son of Milesius, the progenitor of the native Irish kings. The name of Emer appears to have been in use among chief members of the sept of Mac Mahon in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For a list of the Mac Mahons of the county of Monaghan in revolt in 1642, see vol. i., Appendix liii. p. 461, and "History of the County of Monaghan," by E. P. Shirley, F.S.A. London: Pickering, 1880.

entirely influenced by political rules and motives. In 1647, Mac Mahon addressed a memorial to the Pope, advocating the promotion of Rinuccini to the Cardinalate, in recognition of his great services and exertions in Ireland, with which he stated himself to be personally conversant. Queen Henrietta Maria's chaplain, George Leyburn, the English Jesuit, who was well acquainted with Mac Mahon, says he was esteemed as one of the ablest men of the Irish nation. He mentions that, on one occasion, the Bishop acted as interpreter between him and Rinuccini. Leyburn considered that Owen O'Neill and Mac Mahon would incur any hazard rather than coalesce with the Marquis of Ormonde; and, according to the Jesuit's observation, the Bishop of Clogher was better able to hide his thoughts than the Nuncio.

The Assembly at Kilkenny nominated Bishop Mac Mahon, in 1647, as one of their three delegates to France. He, however, suspecting their motives, peremptorily refused to comply with the vote. He is stated to have alleged that he spoke neither English nor French, and that he was obnoxious to the Queen, as a promoter of the movement in Ireland and an opponent of the Peace of 1646. He also alleged that he had apprehensions of the results of threats uttered against him by the Queen's advisers, Lords Jermyn and Digby.

The differences which arose, in 1647-8, between the Supreme Council and Owen O'Neill and Bishop Mac Mahon, have been noticed in the first volume of the present work.

That the exertions of Bishop Mac Mahon, after the death of Owen O'Neill, were appreciated by the King and his advisers, would appear from the following hitherto unpublished document:

"CHARLES REX.

"Right trusty and right intirely beloved cousin and councillor, wee greete you well. Having understood from you, how effectually and succesfully the Bishop of Clog[h]er hath endeavoured to bring the Vlster army to our obedience, wee cannot but judge it the most acceptable, as it was the most seasonable service that could be performed to us; and we accordingly authorize you to assure him of our very gracious acceptation thereof, and that We are resolved to encourage his good affection, by all due fauours both to himselfe and his friends; intreating him to

make use of his interest as well in the army and province of Munster, as amongst our Roman Catholique subjects of Ireland, to preserve them in union and obedience to vs, and you, our Lieutenant, as the only meanes of their preservation against the English rebells, and we are confident, by the blessing of God, to procure such assistances and supplies for you, as may enable you in some measure to support our army, and to resist the power of the rebells.

Given at our Court in Jersey, the 4th day of February, 1649, in the second yeare of our reigne.
 "To our right trusty and right intirely beloved cousin and councillor, James, Marquis of Ormond, our Lieutenant-General of the kingdome of Ireland."¹

Bishop Mac Mahon's election to the post of General will not appear extraordinary, when it is remembered that Jones, the Protestant Bishop of the same see, was Scout-Master General to the Parliamentary army, and that John Lesley, the Scottish Bishop of Raphoe, and subsequently of Clogher, also distinguished himself as a military leader in those wars.

Bishop Mac Mahon, writing in April, 1650, to Sir George Monro, the Scottish commander in Ulster, referred as follows to his own military position: "As for the election made of me by the gentry of this province, I gain nothing by it but troubles. I was never ambitious for it. If your countrymen be generally jealous for it, or if it staggers or hinders them a jot from his Majesty's service, I beg that you will intimate so much unto me, and I do promise, if that may be any way satisfactory, that I will resign my place to the electors again, and to my Lord Lieutenant's hands, and move them to elect some one else, although, as I was informed by a sure hand, that election was first moved by yourself, and some other persons of quality of your nation. I will so far frustrate the expectation of such jealous people, that I shall be as great a maintainer of his Majesty's Protestant subjects serving the King, and the Scots siding with the party whereof I am, as I shall be of the Irish Roman Catholics."

The "Aphorismical" author, while acknowledging the learning and "natural good wit" of Bishop Mac Mahon, considered him as quite unsuited for the post of General. He was unanimously elected, we are told, with the object of "cutting off all motives of jealousy and emulation, and for the settling of unquiet and aspiring minds."

¹ Carte Papers, vol. xxix. p. 181.—Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The Bishop's letters in English and Latin, published in the present work for the first time, indicate his energetic character, and show that he faithfully endeavoured to carry out the duties which he undertook. Of one of his letters a fac-simile is given at page 472.

In our Appendix will be found various communications between Ormonde and Bishop Mac Mahon, as well as the commission by which the former, in the King's name, appointed him to be General of all his Majesty's forces of horse and foot of the province of Ulster, natives of the kingdom of Ireland. Ormonde is said to have gained the entire confidence of Mac Mahon, by his conversations with him, which were carried on by the Viceroy in English and by the Bishop in Irish.

The Roman Catholic see of Clogher remained without a Bishop during twenty-one years after the execution of Bishop Mac Mahon. The Pope then appointed Patrick Duffy to Clogher, on the recommendation of the Duke of Medina and the Spanish Ambassador, and in compliance with a memorial from the clergy of the diocese, in which they desired him for their Bishop, not only on account of his virtues, but also because he was nephew of Emer Mac Mahon, the last prelate of that see. Bishop Emer, they wrote, "was a man of great talent and zeal for the faith and for his country, in defence of which he was killed by the heretics when he was General of the Catholic army in the time of Cromwell."

In connection with Bishop Emer Mac Mahon it may be mentioned that in the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland in the first half of the last century, the see of Clogher and the Primacy of all Ireland were successively occupied by three prelates of his name and kindred—Hugh Mac Mahon, Bernard Mac Mahon, and Ross Mac Mahon.

Dr. Owen O'Shiel, physician to General Owen O'Neill, is mentioned in the "Aphorismical Discovery," among those who fell in the engagement at Scarriffhollis. The notice of the medical career of O'Shiel forms an interesting episode; but our author omits to mention that in the Irish family of O'Siadhail or O'Shiel, the profession of medicine had been

hereditary. Medical and botanical treatises, composed by the O'Shiels, are still extant among the remains of old native Irish learning.

The defeat at Scarriffhollis does not appear to have reduced the Ulster party to the very prostrate condition depicted in the "Aphorismical Discovery." In a letter written soon afterwards, O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh, with some of the northern commanders, assured Ormonde that, notwithstanding the late disaster, they doubted not, by God's help, and his Excellency's assistance, to appear shortly considerable in the field for the advantage of the King's service. The defeat at Scarriffhollis was, in a few days, followed by the surrender of Tecroghan, in Meath, with reference to the maintainance and defence of which several details are given in the "Aphorismical Discovery."

Tecroghan was the seat of Sir Luke FitzGerald, whose daughter had married Owen O'Neill's son, Henry Roe O'Neill. The Castle, regarded as one of the most advantageous places in Leinster, is described as having strong ramparts, turrets, and huge ditches. It is stated to have been bravely defended by Lady FitzGerald. She, according to the "Aphorismical" author, was much misled by her confidence in her relative, Sir Robert Talbot, whom Ormonde had appointed Governor of the place, which, we are told, was very important at this period, "for the behoof of the whole kingdom."

The "Aphorismical" author notices circumstances connected with the surrender of Tecroghan, but does not furnish either the date or the articles of capitulation. In our Appendix will be found the articles under which Tecroghan was surrendered to Colonel John Reynolds, for the use of the Parliament of England, by Sir Robert Talbot, on the 25th of June, 1650.

In the twelfth chapter of the fourth book of the "Aphorismical Discovery" is given the Declaration or Protest of the Irish Clergy at Jamestown, in August, 1650, against the continuance of the King's authority in the person of the Marquis of Ormonde, on several grounds, including alleged misgovernment and ill management of the army. Our

author, however, does not refer to the Declaration made a few days subsequently in Scotland by Charles II., disavowing the Peace which Ormonde had concluded with the Irish in 1648. Ormonde controverted and repudiated the charges brought against him in the Declaration at Jamestown, and on quitting Ireland, in December of the same year, he committed the King's interests there to the Marquis of Clanricarde, who undertook to act as Lord Deputy.

On the disintegration of Ormonde's party, Daniel O'Neill obtained permission from Ireton to transport five thousand men from Ireland for service in Spain or Holland. O'Neill made a relation in person of the affairs of Ireland to Charles II. in Scotland, and detailed his proceedings, in letters to the Marchioness of Ormonde from the Hague, in October and November, 1650.¹ The King, he wrote, had assured him that he believed the Marquis to be a man wedded to his interests as a father and a friend. In his propositions to the Spanish Ambassador, relative to the soldiers whom he contemplated bringing from Ireland to Spain, O'Neill stipulated that the King of Spain should intercede and use his utmost endeavours with the governors of England and Ireland for the restoration and security of the estates and fortunes of all such of the Irish nation as should come, under his command, to serve that Monarch.

In reference to Ormonde's future movements after his retirement from Ireland, Daniel O'Neill wrote to the Marchioness: "I'll not presume to give my opinion which is the best condition for his Lordship: that of France has the more glorious face, and some think this of Spain the more certain."

Of the hitherto little known transactions with Charles, Duke of Lorraine, in relation to Ireland, I hope to treat in a separate work. The statements in the "Aphorismical Discovery" which refer to the Irish negotiation with that Duke, and to the administration of Clanricarde, throw some new light on the views of the surviving and persevering

¹ Appendix, pp. 492-95.

leaders of the native Royalists in Ireland, and on the causes of their non-combination with Lord Deputy Clanricarde and his associates. The allegations in the declarations of the Irish at Lochuachtair (Cloghwater), in July, 1651, in the present work, are of special value as expository of their sentiments and of the grounds upon which they based their proceedings.

In illustration of the latter portions of the "Aphorismical Discovery" contained in the present volume, further documents, in sequence to those here published, will be given in the next volume of this work.

JOHN T. GILBERT.

*Villa Nova, Blackrock,
Dublin,
1st March, 1880.*

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. II.

| NO. | | PAGE |
|-------|---|------|
| I. | Letter from General Owen O'Neill to Sir Nicholas Plunket and Sir Richard Barnewall, 25th March, 1649.—Original in Bodleian Library, Oxford | 203 |
| II. | Portrait of Sir Phelim O'Neill,—“Cheife Traytor of all Ireland.”—From an engraving in the British Museum, London | 208 |
| III. | Letter, partly in cypher, to the Marquis of Ormonde, Viceroy in Ireland for Charles II., from Sir Arthur Aston, Governor of Drogheda for the King, 28th August, 1649.—Original in Bodleian Library | 238 |
| IV. | Letter from Oliver Cromwell to Lieutenant-Colonel David Sinnot, Commander-in-Chief in the town of Wexford for Charles II., 11th October, 1649.—Original in Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin | 288 |
| V. | Letter from Richard Ferrall, Lieutenant-General of the Irish Royalist army of Ulster, 21st October, 1649.—Original in Bodleian Library | 304 |
| VI. | Design for recovery of the town of Ross, October, 1649.—Original in Bodleian Library | 312 |
| VII. | Conclusion of letter to Marquis of Ormonde, signed by Owen O'Neill on his death-bed, 1st November, 1649.—Original in Bodleian Library. Autograph and seal of Owen O'Neill, A.D. 1646.—Ormonde Archives, Kilkenny Castle | 315 |
| VIII. | Letter from Hugh O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh, Eugene Swiney, Bishop of Kilmore, Arthur Magennis, Bishop of Down and Connor, Colonel Philip O'Reilly, and Ulster officers, 11th November, 1649.—Original in Bodleian Library | 317 |
| IX. | Letter from Emer Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, General in Ulster for Charles II., January 1st, 1649[-50].—Original in Ormonde Archives, Kilkenny Castle | 472 |

APHORISMICAL DISCOVERY
OF
TREASONABLE FACTION.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

| | SEC. | | PAGE |
|-------|------|---|------|
| 1649. | 493. | Fr. Redmond Caron appointed Commissary-Visitor | 1 |
| | 494. | Caron in Kilkenny | 2 |
| | " | His illegal proceedings | 2 |
| | " | Duration of Commissary-Visitor's government | " |
| | " | Extraordinaire change of Caron | " |
| | 495. | Father John Ponce's letter to the Archbishop of Dublin | 3 |
| | 504. | Ponce's answer to Peter Walsh's Queries | 10 |
| | 505. | Sir Thomas Esmonde, son of Laurence Esmonde | 11 |
| | " | Cause of Charles Kevanagh's restraint | " |
| | " | His escape | " |

CHAPTER II.

| | | | |
|------|---|--|----|
| 506. | Long restraint of Hugh Mac Phelim Byrne, General of | | |
| | Leinster forces | | 11 |
| | " Geoghegans enlarged by exchange | | " |
| | " Policy of Hugh Mac Phelim | | 12 |
| 507. | Ormonde's passe did not avaylle | | " |
| | " Strange proceedings of Ormonde | | " |

CHAPTER III.

| | | | |
|------|--|--|----|
| 508. | Ormonde's liberality in granting custodiams to his friends and | | |
| | the Puritans | | 13 |
| | " Generous act of Major Nicholas Mortemer | | " |
| | " Mortemer frustrated by jugglinge | | " |
| | " Optimacy and democracy in Supreme Council | | " |
| 509. | Ormonde's letter and offers to Colonel Michael Jones | | 14 |
| 510. | Answer of Jones to Ormonde | | " |
| | " He calls Ormonde's authority in question | | " |
| | " Ormonde sent an army to the Presbyterians | | " |
| | " Jones taxes him with deserting the King | | 15 |

CONTENTS.

| | SEC. | | PAGE |
|-------|------|--|------|
| 1649. | 511. | Ormonde's reply to Jones | 15 |
| | 512. | Letter from Jones to Ormonde | 16 |
| | " | His suspicions of Ormonde's designs as an introduction to be | |
| | | King | " |
| | " | He taxes Ormonde with the King's beheadinge | " |
| | " | Taunt for the surrender of Dublin | 17 |
| | 513. | Ormonde's desire and jealousy | " |
| | " | His opinion of Owen O'Neill | " |
| | " | Positive contradiction in Ormonde's offers | " |
| | " | What he was taxed with by Jones | " |
| | 514. | Major-Generall Huigh Oneylle | 18 |
| | " | Ballinalacke won | " |
| | " | Walter Dardis apointed Governor | " |
| | " | Feare of the greate peeres, Ormonde and Inchiquin | " |
| | 515. | Extraordinarie courage of a handfull of men | " |
| | 516. | Thomas Husse revolts | " |
| | " | Bryan Roe O'Neill taken prisoner | 19 |
| | " | Inhumanitie towards him | " |
| | 517. | He is rescued by Richard Butler | " |
| | " | By meanes of my Lady of Thurles he is released | " |
| | 518. | Poore condition of the Marquess of Antrim | " |
| | " | Generosity of Bryan Mac Phelim | " |
| | " | Antrim looked to be General, but failed | " |
| | 519. | Clangary taken prisoner and his partie inhumanly killed in | |
| | | Duffry | 20 |

CHAPTER IV.

| | | |
|------|--|----|
| 520. | True prophecy of Colonel Jones to Ormonde | 20 |
| 521. | Foolerie of Roger Moore | 21 |
| " | Owen O'Neill and Roger Moore | " |
| 522. | Preparations of Ormonde | " |
| " | Edmund Butler's army | " |
| " | Poore conqueste of Cullinragh Castle | 22 |
| " | Barbarity to Friars of Stradbally | " |
| " | Excommunication incurred by this act | " |
| " | Patrick Money, Lieutenant of foot | " |
| 523. | Butler's order against Money | " |
| " | His intention in the former order | " |

CHAPTER V.

| | | |
|------|---|----|
| 524. | Ormonde's intent in favor of Parliament of England | 23 |
| 525. | Maryborough besieged | " |

CONTENTS.

[3]

| | SEC. | | PAGE |
|-------|------|---|------|
| 1649. | 525. | Lieutenant Daniell Oneyll's treacherous subornation | 23 |
| | " | Terlagh Oneyll and Meilds Reyly revolt | " |
| | " | Generous resolution of Captain Phelim Oneyll | 24 |
| | " | His constancy | " |
| | 526. | Reban demolished | " |
| | " | Five companies in Athy | " |
| | " | Treacherie of Patricke Modorra Mac Camell | " |
| | " | Captain Mac Cana taken prisoner, and thirty killed | " |
| | 527. | John Mac James Bryan, Governor of Maryborough | " |
| | " | Athy summoned | 25 |
| | 528. | Conditions of surrender granted by Ormonde | " |
| | " | Opposed by Lieutenant-General Purcell | " |
| | " | Stout answers of Captain Hagan | " |
| | " | His Character | " |
| | 529. | Malice of Purcell | 26 |
| | " | Misbehaviour of Redmond Mellan, an Ulster trooper | " |
| | " | Vigilancy of Captain Hagan | " |
| | " | Answer of Mac Thomas | " |
| | 530. | Mac Thomas cudgells the Lieutenant | " |
| | " | Manly desire of Captain Sheane O'Hagan | " |
| | " | Redmond Mellan dismissed | " |
| | " | Dominican Prior and Friars of Athy committed by Purcell | 27 |
| | 531. | Captain Hagan's severall suits to Castlehaven | " |
| | " | Inhumaine proceedings of Purcell | " |
| | " | Courage of Captain Hagan | " |
| | " | Intervention of Sir Walter Butler | " |
| | 532. | Cruel intention of Purcell | " |
| | " | Mac Thomas, good friend of O'Hagan | " |
| | " | Loss of the Ulster party | 28 |
| | 533. | Continuance of armie neere Athy | " |
| | " | Declaration against clergy by Sir Robert Talbot | " |
| | " | The author a witness to this | " |
| | 534. | Garrisons taken after great loss | " |
| | " | Horses driven mad from the camp by supposed fairies or witchcraft | " |

CHAPTER VI.

| | | |
|------|--|----|
| 535. | Caron and his apostate friars | 29 |
| " | Safe-conduct sent to the Provinciall, Thomas Makyernan, but not observed | " |
| " | He fled away | " |
| 536. | The Provinciall's proposals to Caron | 30 |
| 537. | The sum of those proposals | " |

| | SEC. | | PAGE |
|-------|------|--|------|
| 1649. | 537. | Irregular proceedings of Caron | 31 |
| | 538. | Certificate thereon from Archbishop of Dublin | " |
| | " | Cruelty of Castlehaven to women | " |
| | 539. | Castlehaven, Caron, and their adherents, excommunicate ... | 32 |
| | 540. | Letter from Fr. Paul Geoghegan to Fr. Patrick Brennan, Præses of Kilkeny Franciscans | " |
| | " | Caron's answer to Geoghegan by Fr. John Barnewall | " |
| | 541. | Barnewall's false intimation of mutiny | " |
| | " | His colloquinge and halteinge | " |
| | 542. | The refractorie fryers | 33 |
| | " | Edmund Butler's behaviour | " |
| | " | Caron goes to Rosse | " |
| | " | Constancie of Fr. James Tyrrell and Fr. O'Mellaghlin ... | " |
| | " | Other obedient fryers | " |
| | " | Caron's zeudo-Chapter | " |
| | 543. | Sweetman, Plunkett, and Dormer, denounced as apostates by the Provincial | 34 |
| | 544. | Behaviour of Fr. Thomas Makyernan | " |

CHAPTER VII.

| | | |
|------|--|----|
| 545. | Reflections on Ormonde's movements | 35 |
| 546. | Sir Robert Talbot comaunded to Glanmalure | " |
| " | A seeming miracle | 36 |
| 547. | Ormonde oblivious of his covenant | " |
| 548. | Agents from Ormonde to Owen Oneylle | " |
| " | Sir Richard Barnewall's voluntary perjurie | 37 |
| 549. | Ormonde permits Owen Oneyll to buy ammunition | " |
| " | Colonel Monke, Governor of Dundalk | " |
| 550. | Drogheda and Trim yielded to Inchiquin | " |
| " | Ulster party sent to Dundalk for ammunition | " |
| " | Inhumanitie and crueltie of Inchiquin | 38 |
| " | Captain Sheane O'Hagan a prisoner | " |

CHAPTER VIII.

| | | |
|------|--|----|
| 551. | Violation of covenant between Ormonde, Inchiquin, and Owen O'Neill | 38 |
| 552. | Mac Thomas deposed by Ormonde | 39 |
| " | Sir William Vaughan, of Inchiquin's party | " |
| 553. | Mac Thomas, Commissary-General of Horse | " |
| " | Luke and Francis Taaffe, Colonel and Major | " |
| " | Character and pouerty of Captain Christopher Rellye | " |

CONTENTS.

[5]

| | SEC. | | PAGE |
|-------|------|---|------|
| 1649. | 553. | Betrayal of Ballisonan to the Parliament ... | 39 |
| | " | Sincerity of Sir James Dillon ... | " |
| | " | Christopher Rellye, a captain of Tories ... | 40 |
| | 554. | Breach of covenant by Ormonde ... | " |
| | " | His false declaration ... | " |
| | 555. | Sir George Monro marches with Scots to Iniskillen ... | " |
| | " | Sir William Cole's conditions for Iniskillen ... | " |
| | " | Londonderry besieged by Monro ... | " |
| | " | Sir Charles Coote addresses Owen O'Neill for relief of Londonderry ... | " |
| | 556. | Poore condition of General Neyll ... | 41 |
| | " | His politticke application ... | " |
| | 557. | Coote's message ... | " |
| | " | Generall Neyll's reasons for accepting Coote's invitation ... | " |
| | " | The Scots raise the siege of Londonderry ... | " |
| | " | Coote's friendly ostentation and entertainment ... | " |
| | " | Generall Neyll poysoned by Coote ... | 42 |

CHAPTER IX.

| | | |
|------|--|----|
| 558. | Ormonde's party found fault with Generall Neylle ... | 42 |
| " | They were themselves guiltie of all crime ... | " |

CHAPTER X.

| | | |
|------|--|----|
| 559. | Good and bad gamsters ... | 43 |
| " | Colonel Jones wisly behaued himself ... | " |
| " | He proued a good gamster ... | " |
| 560. | Character of Ormonde's camp at Finglas ... | " |
| " | Ormonde's intent ... | 44 |

CHAPTER XI.

| | | |
|------|--|----|
| 561. | Ormonde's smiling fortune ... | 44 |
| " | He is regarded as an oracle ... | " |
| 562. | Now begins his frowning fortune ... | 45 |
| " | The division of his armie ... | " |
| " | Major Charles Geoghegan ... | " |
| " | The senseless or treacherous siege of Dublin ... | " |
| " | Militarie advice ... | " |
| " | Fooleserie or treason ... | " |
| 563. | Watchful eye of Jones ... | " |

| | SEC. | | PAGE |
|-------|------|---|------|
| 1649. | 563. | Resistance of Geoghegan, who is not relieved ... | 45 |
| | " | Ormonde fled away ... | " |
| | " | Vaughan killed ... | " |
| | " | Strange cowardize ... | 46 |
| | " | Five hundred horse, victors ... | " |
| | " | What Insichuynne's partie had done ... | " |
| | " | Captain Richard Geoghegan killed ... | " |
| | " | Earl of Fingal prisoner, died in durance ... | " |
| | 564. | The defeate, 2 August, 1649 ... | " |
| | " | Intention of Ormonde and his party towards the clergy ... | " |
| | 565. | Politicke invention of Mac Thomas ... | 47 |
| | " | Ballisonan is yielded ... | " |
| | " | Sir Thomas Armstrong, Commissary of Horse ... | " |
| | 566. | Inchiquin was not at the defeat of Dublin ... | " |
| | " | Randevvouz of Ormonde at Tighcrahan ... | " |
| | " | Ormonde's army in the field to no purpose ... | " |
| | " | He, feasting himself ... | 48 |

CHAPTER XII.

| | | |
|------|--|----|
| 567. | Characters of Ormonde and Cromwell ... | 48 |
| " | Landing of Cromwell ... | " |
| " | Ormonde loiters behind ... | " |
| 568. | Cromwell's army 12,000 strong ... | " |
| " | His principle in war ... | 49 |
| " | Courage of the besieged in Drogheda ... | " |
| " | Ormonde promised relife, could giue it with advantage, but neuer did comply ... | " |
| " | What he might have done, yet he did nothing ... | " |
| 569. | Siege of Drogheda ... | " |
| 570. | Drogheda taken ... | 50 |
| " | The moat yielded ... | " |
| " | Quarter not observed ... | " |
| " | Captain Teige Conor escaped ... | " |
| " | Captains Mathew and Thomas Geoghegan killed ... | " |

CHAPTER XIII.

| | | |
|------|--|----|
| 571. | Heretical letter of Sir Richard Blake to the Nuncio ... | 50 |
| " | Sir Richard more rigorous than Queen Elizabeth ... | 51 |
| " | Fr. Valentine Brown and Fr. George Dillon, apostates ... | " |
| 572. | Friendly advice to my Lord Nuncio ... | " |
| " | Iniquitie of quondam Catholicks ... | " |

CONTENTS.

[7]

| | | | | | | |
|-------|------|---|-----|-----|-----|----|
| 1649. | 573. | My Lord Nuncio takes his journey for France | ... | ... | ... | 51 |
| | " | Ingratitude of the two Agents | ... | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Sir Nicholas Plunket, knighted by the Pope | ... | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Great oversight of the Agents | ... | ... | ... | 52 |

CHAPTER XIV.

| | | | | | |
|------|--|-----|-----|-----|----|
| 574. | Ormonde and Inchiquin in Kilkenny | ... | ... | ... | 52 |
| " | Behaviour of the army | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 575. | Plunket and Barnewall sent by Ormonde to treat with Owen O'Neill | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 576. | The manning of Wexford and Ross | ... | ... | ... | 53 |
| " | Dangerous sickness of Generall Neylle | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Seven thousand of the Ulster forces join with Ormonde | ... | ... | ... | " |

CHAPTER XV.

| | | | | | |
|------|--|-----|-----|-----|----|
| 577. | The garrisons of Wicklow and Wexford taken by Cromwell | ... | ... | ... | 54 |
| " | Character of the Governor of Wexford | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Wexford taken | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Edmund Butler killed | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Friars killed | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 578. | Intended courage of Ross garrison | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | They are commanded to desert the place | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 579. | Bridge made by Cromwell | ... | ... | ... | 55 |
| " | The number of Ormonde's army | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | His publicke mistake | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 580. | Cromwell retreats to Inishdeoge | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Willingness of the Ulster army to fight, and their reasons | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 581. | Dispute on the composure of the battle | ... | ... | ... | 56 |
| " | Sense of Lieutenant-General Ferrall | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Behaviour of Ormonde | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Cnoctagher yielded to Cromwell | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Carrig yielded | ... | ... | ... | " |

CHAPTER XVI.

| | | | | | |
|------|--|-----|-----|-----|----|
| 582. | Ormonde proceeds to Waterford and Insichuyne to Carrig | ... | ... | ... | 57 |
| " | Ormonde is refused admittance to Waterford | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | His agent arrested by General Ferrall, but remitted to Ormonde and acquitted | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 583. | Cromwell summons Waterford | ... | ... | ... | " |

| | SEC. | | PAGE |
|-------|------|---|------|
| 1649. | 583. | Account of Charles Geoghegan's education ... | 57 |
| | " | Charles Geoghegan defends Perpignan against the French ... | 58 |
| | 584. | His duel with the French General's son ... | " |
| | " | Geoghegan arrives in Ireland from Rochelle ... | " |
| | 585. | His manly advance to his fatal service ... | " |
| | " | He is killed in the assault on Carrig, and buried in Kilkenny ... | 59 |
| | " | His Catholike will ... | " |
| | 586. | Ormonde's mistake ... | " |
| | " | Lieutenant-Generall Ferrall routed ... | " |
| | " | John Hagan made prisoner ... | " |
| | " | Passage taken by Cromwell ... | " |
| | 587. | What in others is treason is in Ormonde a mistake ... | " |

CHAPTER XVII.

| | | |
|--------|--|----|
| 588-9. | Character of General Owen O'Neill, and lamentation for him ... | 60 |
| " | His death on 6th of November, 1649 ... | 61 |
| 590. | The Northern Irish lost in him their father, General, ruler, and steerer ... | 62 |

CHAPTER XVIII.

| | | |
|------|---|----|
| 591. | Ormonde's collusion ... | 63 |
| " | Congregation of Clonmacnoise ... | " |
| 592. | Facile credulitie of the Bishop of Clogher and Prelates ... | 64 |
| " | The Acts of the Congregation not observed ... | " |

CHAPTER XIX.

| | | |
|------|--|----|
| 593. | Captain Marcus Geoghegan's motion to Sir Robert Talbot ... | 64 |
| " | The Captain and his men killed ... | 65 |
| 594. | Treacherous behaviour of Talbot ... | " |
| " | His base surrender ... | " |
| " | Rewarded by Ormonde ... | " |
| " | Judge by this action what Ormonde was ... | " |
| " | Talbot placed the second time in trust ... | " |
| 595. | Honorable miscarriage of the Geoghegan commanders ... | 66 |
| " | Ten of them killed ... | " |
| " | The author's reason for these particulars ... | " |
| 596. | Ormonde's courage ... | " |
| 597. | His illusory order to Walter Butler ... | " |

[BOOK IV., PART 2.]

CHAPTER I.

| | | | | | |
|-------|------|---|-----|-----|----|
| 1650. | 598. | Preston goes from Carlow to Waterford ... | ... | ... | 67 |
| | " | Oliver Darcy, Bishop of Drumore, Governor of Carlow | ... | ... | " |
| | 599. | Athy taken from Cromwell's party ... | ... | ... | " |
| | " | The cause of breaking the Leinster party ... | ... | ... | 68 |
| | " | Sir Thomas Armstrong's letter to Cromwell | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Treacherous answer of Castlehaven ... | ... | ... | " |
| | " | General Ferrall and Colonel Lewes Moore depart | ... | ... | " |
| | 600. | Bishop of Dromore appointed Vice-General by Castlehaven | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Castlehaven and Armstrong march to Clare | ... | ... | " |
| | 601. | Leinster left naked to the enemy | ... | ... | " |
| | " | John Bryan a degenerate Byrne | ... | ... | " |
| | " | All garrisons belonging to Ormonde yield ... | ... | ... | 69 |
| | " | Munster yielded by Inchiquin's party | ... | ... | " |
| | 602. | Siege of Kilkenny ... | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Treachery of the townsmen ... | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Sir Walter Butler forces quarter from Cromwell | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Uncivill behaviour against Church's imunitie | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Sir Walter dies ... | ... | ... | " |

CHAPTER II.

| | | | | |
|------|--|-----|-----|----|
| 603. | Ulster Provincial Assembly ... | ... | ... | 70 |
| " | Competition for the Generalship of Ulster | ... | ... | " |
| " | Reason of election ... | ... | ... | " |
| 604. | Emer Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, elected General | ... | ... | " |
| " | The Bishop deceived by Ormonde and Clanricarde | ... | ... | " |

CHAPTER III.

| | | | | |
|------|---|-----|-----|----|
| 605. | Fr. Thomas Makyernan's suit against Caron | ... | ... | 71 |
| 606. | Commission of Vice-General of Franciscans, disannulling Caron's authority | ... | ... | 72 |
| 607. | Letter from Fr. Paul King against Caron and his adherents | ... | ... | 73 |
| 608. | Justice on the Provincial's side ... | ... | ... | 74 |

| | | | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|---|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| 1650. | ^{SEC.} 608. | Letter from Caron to the Provincial | ... | ... | ... | PAGE 74 |
| | " | The Commissary-General's authorities only subdelegate | ... | ... | ... | " |

CHAPTER IV.

| | | | | | | |
|------|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|
| 609. | Major Hugh O'Neill in Clonmel | ... | ... | ... | ... | 75 |
| " | Fearde taken by the enemy | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | A party sent to Cahir Castle | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Dispute of the Ulster party and Mr. Mathewe | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | His perjury | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | The enemy and Ulster party fight | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 610. | God's providence: a brave quarter | ... | ... | ... | ... | 76 |
| " | Gallant resolution of Ulster Captain | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 611. | Fennell with Hugh O'Neill in Clonmel | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Siege of Clonmel | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Great loss | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Doubtful conceptions of Cromwell | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |

CHAPTER V.

| | | | | | | |
|--------|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|
| 612. | Cromwell bargains with Fennell | ... | ... | ... | ... | 77 |
| " | Fennell agrees for £500 to betray Clonmel | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | How discovered | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 613. | Hugh O'Neill's behaviour in this business | ... | ... | ... | ... | 78 |
| " | Fennell swears fealty to O'Neill | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Five hundred of the enemy killed | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 614. | Cromwell plants his ordnance | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Inventions of Major O'Neill | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Determination of Cromwell | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Brave assaulte and greates mortalitie | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | The enemy is repulsed | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 615. | Thomas Preston's faithlesse compliencie | ... | ... | ... | ... | 79 |
| " | Major O'Neill with his party march away | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 616. | Cromwell mightie pensive | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | His opinion of Major O'Neill | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | The enemy intred the towne | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | A garrison left there | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Cromwell goes to England | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Earthon [Ireton], his Deputy | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Cromwell had no cause to boast of his service in Ireland | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 616 a. | The poore case of Major O'Neill | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |

CONTENTS.

[I I]

| | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|--|----|
| 1650. | ^{880.} 616a. | Inhumanitie of Diego Preston | 80 |
| | " | The plague forced Major O'Neill to take his course for Limerick .. | " |
| | " | He is pursued by the enemie in vaine | " |

CHAPTER V[A].

| | | |
|------|---|----|
| 617. | The Bishop of Dromore, Vice-General of Leinster | 80 |
| " | He invites the Byrnes and Kavenaghs | " |
| " | Colonel Arthur Fox comes to him | 81 |
| " | The Bishop leaves £3000 in the country | " |
| " | Colonel Fox opposes him | " |
| " | Dromore writtes a contereite letter | " |
| " | Colonel Fox deceived by him | " |
| " | Dromore makes sale of the provisions of Carlow | " |
| " | Colonel Fox, because true and loyal, was kept out by Dromore .. | " |
| " | Bedlowe [Bellew] and Dungan trusted by Dromore with Carlow castle | " |
| " | Bedlowe treacherously deserts the castle of Carlow | " |
| " | Death of Oliver Dungan | " |

CHAPTER VI.

| | | |
|------|--|----|
| 618. | Brave behaviour of the Ulster army | 82 |
| " | Faithless compliance of Ormonde and Clanricarde | " |
| 619. | Armstrong's letter intercepted | " |
| " | Ormonde's speech in Athlone | " |
| " | Treachery and deceit | 83 |
| 620. | Ormonde's creature, Daniel Oneye | " |
| " | Sir Thomas Armstronge's speeche to Thomas Crafton | " |
| " | Crafton diswades others to goe to Ticroghan | " |
| " | Armstrong and Daniel O'Neill with the enemy | " |

CHAPTER VII.

| | | |
|---------|--|----|
| 621. | Ulster army marches to Tyrconnell | 84 |
| " | Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, a good Prelate but a bad General .. | " |
| " | Ulster forces encamp at Letterkenny | " |
| 622. | An Irish druid, or prophet, diswades them from battle there | " |
| " | Resulte of a counsell of warr | " |
| 623-24. | Speeche of Henry Roe Oneylle in the counsell | " |

| | SEC. | | PAGE |
|-------|------|--|------|
| 1650. | 625. | Self-opinion of the Bishope-Generall of Ulster ... | 86 |
| | " | Ulster forces engage under unparalleled inequalities ... | " |
| | " | Brave behaviour of Phelim MacTuhill O'Neylle ... | " |
| | " | Battle at Letterkenny ... | 87 |
| | " | Courage of the Irish foot ... | " |
| | " | They are overmatched and slaughtered ... | " |
| | 626. | Behaviour of Henry Roe Oneyll ... | " |
| | " | He is taken prisoner ... | " |
| | 627. | Sir Phelim O'Neill beguiled the enemy ... | " |
| | " | Poor condition of the Bishop-General [Mac Mahon] and Lieutenant-General Farrell ... | " |
| | " | They are betrayed by Maguire ... | " |
| | " | The Bishop-Generall taken prisoner ... | " |
| | " | Lieutenant-General Farrell escapes ... | " |
| | " | Mac Mahon, the Prelate-General, hanged and quartered ... | " |
| | 628. | Some prisoners carried to Londonderry ... | 88 |
| | " | Four thousand killed in the battle, beside chiefe commaunders ... | " |
| | " | Henry Roe Oneylle is beheaded ... | " |
| | " | His speeche to Sir Charles Coote before death ... | " |
| | " | His charitable requests for his co-prisoners denied ... | 89 |
| | 629. | Moane for the familie of Oneylle ... | " |
| | 630. | Abridgment of Doctor Owen Shiell's life and deathe ... | " |

CHAPTER IX.

| | | |
|------|---|----|
| 631. | Character of Major Luke Guire, Governor of Ticroghan ... | 91 |
| " | Six hundred soldiers within the castle ... | " |
| " | Strength of Ticroghan ... | " |
| " | Ticroghan sledge ... | " |
| 632. | Sir Robert Talbot, Governor of Ticroghan ... | " |
| " | The lady of the house deceived in Talbot ... | 92 |
| " | Change of Ticroghan defence in Talbot's time ... | " |
| 633. | Treacherie discovered by Michael Gaynor, an Ulsterman ... | " |
| " | Greate mutinie betwixt the well affected and the faction within ... | " |
| " | Guire and his partie thrived ... | " |
| 634. | Talbot and the lady send for relife to Ormonde ... | 93 |
| " | Castlehaven, commander of the relife ... | " |
| " | Clanricarde and Westmeath accompany him ... | " |
| " | Posture of the enemy ... | " |
| " | Skirmish at Ticroghan ... | " |
| " | Humanitie of Major Guire ... | " |
| 635. | Colonel Wall's treacherie ... | " |
| " | Conference between Castlehaven and Captain Bassall Fox ... | " |

CONTENTS.

[13]

| | SEC. | | PAGE |
|-------|------|--|------|
| 1650. | 635. | Peter Walsh, author of this murther | 94 |
| | 636. | Ungodly doome of Castlehaven, informer and judge | " |
| | " | Clanricarde and Westmeath, intercessors for Captain Fox | " |
| | " | Answer of Castlehaven unto a prieste | " |
| | " | Castlehaven's rancour against the Irish | " |
| | 637. | Captain Fox executed | " |
| | " | The author's sense touching this relife | " |
| | 638. | Ticroghan quarter | 95 |
| | " | Ticroghan yielded by Talbot | " |
| | " | Brave quantitie of provision founde in Ticroghan | " |
| | " | Character of Talbot | " |
| | " | Discontent of Ormonde | " |
| | " | Proofe of Ormonde's disloyaltie | " |
| | 639. | Major Guyre tried and acquitted by a councill of warr | " |

CHAPTER X.

| | | |
|------|--|----|
| 640. | Calciat and Discalciat Carmelites | 96 |
| " | Fr. John Roe, Provinciaall of Discalciat Carmelites, attorney for the apeale | " |
| 641. | Fr. Roe comitted to be tryed, but escapes | " |
| " | He arrives in Ireland | 97 |
| " | The Bishope of Drumore writes to him | " |
| 642. | Fr. Roe's letter to Drumore | " |
| " | Theire thrivinge in Rome | " |
| 643. | Theire stiff-necked heartes | " |
| " | Effecte of the censures | " |
| " | Sir Richard Blake's house, the first in Ireland infected with plague | " |

CHAPTER XI.

| | | |
|------|---|-----|
| 644. | Sir Robert Talbot intrusted by Ormonde with the Castle of Athlone | 98 |
| " | Defence of Conaght | " |
| 645. | Behaviour of Ormonde and his peerres in Conaght | 99 |
| " | Destructive and licentious proceedings of Ormonde's armie | " |
| " | Poore natives yeld unto the commonemie | " |
| " | Description of Ormonde's habitation | " |
| " | Ormonde compared to Nero | " |
| " | Congregation of Jamestown | 100 |

CHAPTER XII.

| | SEC. | | PAGE |
|-------|-------|---|------|
| 1650. | 646. | The Congregation's Declaration at Jamestown against Ormonde and his government | 100 |
| | " | Excommunication against opposers of the Declaration ... | 105 |
| | 646a. | Darcy, Bishop of Drumore, Agent from the clergie ... | 106 |
| | " | Committee chosen by the Congregation ... | 107 |
| | 647. | Excommunication confirmed by the Committee ... | " |
| | 648. | Ormonde and his complices ... | " |
| | " | The sum of Costllagh's letter ... | " |
| | " | Safe-conduct from Ireton to Costllagh ... | " |

CHAPTER XIV.

| | | |
|------|--|-----|
| 649. | Costllagh advises the two Ladies Dillon to write to Ireton ... | 108 |
| " | Their letter intercepted by Westmeath ... | " |
| 650. | Clanricarde writes to the clergie ... | " |
| " | Three Ulster regiments stationed near Athlone ... | " |

CHAPTER XV.

| | | |
|------|---|-----|
| 651. | Caron's faction against Thomas Makyernan ... | 108 |
| " | Those who submitted and were absolved ... | 109 |
| 652. | The Chapter resembles Parliament ... | " |
| " | Reconciliation of apostats ... | " |
| " | A new Provincial, Fr. Francis Sullivan, and his Diffinitors ... | " |
| 653. | They turne to their former vomitte ... | 110 |
| " | Peter Walsh, the ring-leader of this apostat crue ... | " |
| " | Ormonde and his peeres ... | " |

CHAPTER XVI.

| | | |
|------|--|-----|
| 654. | The fetch of Clanricarde against the clergie's Declaration ... | 110 |
| 655. | Ireton in campe before Athlone ... | 111 |
| " | Jones, Bishop of Clogher ... | " |
| " | John Dalton's sincerity to Colonel Jones ... | " |
| " | Relation of Bishop Jones, touching Dillon's treacherie ... | " |
| " | A safe-conducte for Dillon ... | " |
| 656. | Sir Nicholas White ... | " |
| 657. | Delvin taken ... | " |

CONTENTS.

[15]

| | SEC. | | | | PAGE |
|-------|------|--|-----|-----|------|
| 1650. | 657. | The enemie beaten from Rachra | ... | ... | 112 |
| | " | Losse sustained at the siege of Athlone | ... | ... | " |
| | " | The enemie marched and dislodged | ... | ... | " |
| | 658. | Clanricarde before Kilcolgan | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Courage of William Boy Bourke | ... | ... | " |
| | " | He is aided by Major Owen O'Dochardy | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Kilcolgan yielded | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Cloghan won | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Clanricarde's intention discovered | ... | ... | " |
| | 659. | Hugh Oneyll desires relife at Limerick | ... | ... | 113 |
| | " | How complied with by Ormonde | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Greate faction in Limbricke | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Hugh Oneyll's second address for relife | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Treacherie of Ormonde and Clanricarde | ... | ... | " |
| | 660. | Major Taaffe, a fresh-water soldier | ... | ... | " |
| | " | The slaughter of his armie | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Intelligences and motives against Taaffe's proceedings | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Taaffe and Sir James Dillon put in saftie | ... | ... | " |
| | " | The skirmish of Lusmach | ... | ... | 114 |
| | " | Leutenant-Colonel Sheane O'Hagan killed | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Major Owen O'Dogharty and his party saved | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Characters of Major Taaffe and Sir James Dillon | ... | ... | " |

CHAPTER XVII.

| | | | | |
|------|--|-----|-----|-----|
| 661. | The Bishope of Laghlin at Clonmacnose campe | ... | ... | 114 |
| " | Earl of Westmeath voted Generall of Leinster by the clergie | ... | ... | 115 |
| " | His grandfather's deportment | ... | ... | " |
| 662. | How Westmeath behaved | ... | ... | " |
| " | Ormonde and Clanricarde | ... | ... | " |
| " | How ill some dellegats behaved | ... | ... | " |
| " | Proceedings of Sir Richard Barnewall, Patrick Bryan, and Sir Walter Dungan | ... | ... | " |
| 663. | The Catholicke Bishope of Killaloe putt in restraint | ... | ... | " |
| 664. | Assembly in Loghreagh | ... | ... | 116 |
| 665. | Sir James Preston and Major Richard Grace | ... | ... | " |
| 666. | Reduced condition of Ormonde | ... | ... | 117 |

CHAPTER XVIII.

| | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| 667. | Result of Ormonde's proceedings | ... | ... | 117 |
| " | His journey for France | ... | ... | 118 |

CHAPTER XIX.

| | | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|---|-----|-----|-------------|
| 1650. | ^{REC.} 668. | Clanricarde, manager of Ireland for the King | ... | ... | PAGE 118 |
| | 669. | Clanricarde assumed sole authoritie to himselfe | ... | ... | 119 |

CHAPTER XX.

| | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 670. | Indications of Clanricarde's fall | ... | ... | ... | 119 |
|------|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|

CHAPTER XXI.

| | | | | | |
|--------|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 671-5. | Speech of William Bourke Fitz John, of Castllechan | ... | ... | ... | 120 |
| 676. | Observations on this speech | ... | ... | ... | 123 |

CHAPTER XXII.

| | | | | | |
|------|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 677. | Seeminge recantation by Assembly of Loghreagh of instrument against Nuncio | ... | ... | ... | 124 |
| " | Theire colloquinge | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 678. | Penal laws of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth | ... | ... | ... | 125 |
| " | Another Nuncio banished by the Irish | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Why Wednesday is fasted | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | The fruit of Excommunication | ... | ... | ... | " |

CHAPTER XXIII.

| | | | | | |
|------|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 679. | Anti-Assembly dissolved | ... | ... | ... | 126 |
| " | Proud behaviour of Clanricarde | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 680. | His Christianitie | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 681. | Clanricarde's disposition disciphered | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Like his father, against the Irish | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | To what company this Peere resortes | ... | ... | ... | 127 |
| 682. | His violence against the Bishop of Clonmacnos | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | His tipplinge moode | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 683. | Change of Clanricarde on his promotion | ... | ... | ... | 128 |

CHAPTER XXIV.

| | | | | | |
|------|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 684. | Treacherie of Clanricarde, the newe Deputie | ... | ... | ... | 129 |
| 685. | Some Ulster and Conaght forces well inclined | ... | ... | ... | " |

CONTENTS.

[17]

| | SEC. | | PAGE |
|-------|------|---|------|
| 1650. | 685. | Fetch of the newe Deputie and his factioniers ... | 129 |
| | " | Colonel Charles Molloy, agent to Clanricarde ... | " |
| | 686. | Richard Burke and Randle MacDaniell ... | " |
| | " | Ulster partie deceived by Viscount Costllagh and Sir James Dillon ... | " |
| | " | Charles Molloy, Lewes Moore, and John Fitz Patrick ... | 130 |
| | 687. | Despatches to Fitz Patrick and his answer ... | " |
| | " | Ulster party deceived in their opinion ... | " |
| | 688. | They march to Killihie and Ferkall ... | " |
| | 689. | Colonel Bourke deceived the enemy ... | " |
| | " | Alexander Mac Daniell's application ... | 131 |
| | " | Faithfull compliance of Costllagh ... | " |
| | 690. | Sir Walter Dungan's cheatinge deportment ... | " |
| | " | The parties deceived ... | " |
| | 691. | The Conaght partie, disavowinge the Deputie [Clanricarde] ... | " |
| | " | Henry Dillon, prisoner ... | " |
| | " | Ulster partie go to Cavan ... | 132 |

CHAPTER XXV.

| | | |
|------|--|-----|
| 692. | Clanricarde's public and common treachery ... | 132 |
| " | He acts all things for the enemy ... | " |
| 693. | Commissarie Reynolds and Major Standley marching to Dunore ... | " |
| " | Irish garrison of Dunore ... | " |
| " | Conly [Mac Geoghegan] payed contribution ... | 133 |
| 694. | Standley's returne ... | " |
| " | Inhumanitie of the enemy ... | " |
| " | Freedom of Dunore pleaded ... | " |
| " | Reynolds' promise ... | " |
| " | Cause of Dunore's unhapy takinge ... | " |
| " | Fatal behaviour of the warde ... | " |
| 695. | James Mac Neyll Geoghegan killed ... | 134 |
| " | How William Dea behaved himself ... | " |
| " | Dunore taken ... | " |
| " | A very rich place ... | " |
| " | Covetousnesse did hooe justice ... | " |
| " | Fifty killed in Dunore ... | " |
| " | It was restored ... | " |
| 696. | Ballimore taken ... | " |
| " | Netterville banished thence ... | " |

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

| | SEC. | | PAGE |
|-------|------|--|------|
| 1651. | 697. | Westmeath's men cruel to the natives | 135 |
| | 698. | Inhumanitie of those seeming Catholickes | " |
| | " | Unmercifull behaviour of Westmeath's partie | " |
| | " | False surmishes of defence | " |
| | 699. | Summons to Fyena | " |
| | " | Captain Scurloge revolts | 136 |
| | " | James Barnwall, Lieutenant-Colonel of Horse | " |
| | " | Like Westmeath in his character | " |
| | " | The Earle desireth succor | " |
| | " | Phillipe O'Reylly and Alexander Mac Daniell sent to relieve Fyena | " |
| | " | Westmeath's sudden departure | " |
| 700. | | Five hundred men sent to defend the Toghar | " |
| | " | The place is deserted | " |
| | " | The garrison tippling, the enemies killing | " |
| | " | Phillipe O'Reylly fled | " |
| 701. | | The Irish killed and taken prisoners | 137 |
| | " | Manus O'Cahan killed | " |
| | " | Alexander Mac Daniell taken prisoner | " |
| 702. | | Fyena taken | " |
| | " | Crueltie of the enemies towards prisoners | " |
| 703. | | Unchristian deportment of Westmeath's men | " |

CHAPTER II.

| | | |
|--------|---|-----|
| 704. | Account of Fr. Anthony Geoghegan, Prior of Conallmore ... | 138 |
| 705. | Cause of his selection by Congregation of Cardinals ... | " |
| 706-7. | Letters from Dionisius Massarius to Fr. Crelly and Fr. Geoghegan | 139 |
| 708. | The Congregation of Cardinals and the Pope | 140 |
| 709. | Reasons for advancement of Anthony Geoghegan | " |
| " | The Prior of Conallmore, in Catholic times, was a Lord of Parliament | " |
| " | The Nuncio's esteeme of Anthony Geoghegan | 141 |
| " | Oliver Deize's false intimation against him | " |
| 710. | The Congregation and its President, the Archbishop of Tuam ... | " |

CONTENTS.

[19]

| | SEC. | | PAGE |
|-------|------|---|------|
| 1651. | 710. | Thomas Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin, a brave Prelate | 141 |
| | " | His advice to Prior Geoghegan | " |
| | " | The Bishops of Clonfert a brave stickler hitherunto | " |
| | " | The Prelates come to the Prior's chamber | " |
| | " | Fr. Hugh Bourke's judgment of the Prior's power | 142 |

CHAPTER III.

| | | |
|------|--|-----|
| 711. | Apollogically abridgment of Fr. Hugh Bourke's demeanour | 142 |
| " | His frequenting of Courtes | " |
| " | He obtains power to visit Ireland | " |
| " | His suite in Denmark | " |
| 712. | His intentions herein failed | " |
| " | His labours and insinuations to foreign princes | " |
| " | His appointment by the General of the Franciscan Order | " |
| " | Father Luke Wadding's opposition to Bourke | " |
| " | Through the King of Spain, Bourke is made Bishop | " |
| 713. | O'Sullivan, Earl of Birrhaven [Bearhaven], agent for Ireland | 143 |
| " | Noncompliance of the Prelate, Hugh Bourke | " |
| " | He betrays the trust reposed in him | " |
| " | Birrhaven hoysed sayle | " |
| " | Character of Bishop Hugh Bourke | 144 |
| 714. | His foolish assertion | " |
| " | Inconstancy of Walter Linche | " |
| 715. | Instructions from Rome to Irish clergy | " |
| 716. | Letter of Archbishop of Tuam to the Primate | " |

CHAPTER IV.

| | | |
|------|---|-----|
| 717. | The condition of the Bourkes | 145 |
| " | John Bourke graduated Doctor in France | " |
| " | His pretences | 146 |
| " | Vicar-General and Bishop of Clonfert | " |
| " | By craft elected Archbishop of Tuam | " |
| 718. | Now antagonist of the nation | " |
| " | His collusion discovered in his letter | " |
| 719. | A palpable falsehood | " |
| " | Bishop of Down and Doctor Meara, agents in Clonmacnoise | 147 |
| " | Oliver Bourke, a Dominican friar | " |
| " | Zeal of Clanricarde | " |
| 720. | Intention of Archbishop of Tuam | " |

CONTENTS.

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------|
| 1651. | ^{SEC.} 720. | Proofo against Tuam | ... | ... | ... | ... | PAGE 147 |
| | " | The Lord Primate's answer | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Signature and recantations of Archbishop of Tuam | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |

CHAPTER V.

| | | | |
|------|---|-----|-----|
| 721. | The Primate's desire to confer with Prior Geoghegan | ... | 148 |
| " | His letter for Thomas Makyernan | ... | " |
| " | The Primate's zeal | ... | " |
| 722. | Letter from Bishop of Clonmacnose in behalf of the Prior | ... | 149 |
| " | Constancie of Clonmacnose | ... | " |
| " | An inductive sense of this letter | ... | " |
| 723. | Thomas Makyernan came to the Prior | ... | 150 |
| " | Costllagh, Sir Luke Dillon, and Sir James Dillon treat secretly for surrender of Athlone to the enemy | ... | " |
| " | Sir James Dillon, Sir Robert Talbot, John Bellewe and Stephen Dexter, agents between Costllagh and Earthon [Ireton] | ... | " |
| " | The Prior's letter to the Primate | ... | " |

CHAPTER VI.

| | | | |
|------|--|-----|-----|
| 724. | Duke of Lorraine choosen Protector of the Irish nation | ... | 151 |
| 725. | His agent, Stephanus Hinius, Abbott of S. Catherine | ... | " |
| " | Clanricarde's power | ... | " |
| " | Taafe, Sir Nicholas Plunket, and Geffry Browne, agents to Duke of Lorraine | ... | " |
| 726. | Letter from French, Bishop of Ferns, to the agents | ... | 152 |
| " | Articles of agreement for protectorship of Duke of Lorraine | ... | 153 |

CHAPTER VII.

| | | | |
|------|--|-----|-----|
| 729. | Treasonable intention of Costllagh | ... | 157 |
| 730. | Costllagh writes to Sir Thomas Armstrong | ... | " |
| 731. | Sir Thomas Armstrong's letter to Costllagh | ... | 157 |
| " | James Tuite, agent for Costllagh | ... | 158 |
| " | Costllagh's endeavours for Athlone | ... | " |
| 732. | Linster forces ordered to Conaght | ... | " |
| " | Dillon and Westmeath's forces | ... | " |
| 733. | Continuance of Limbricke sledge | ... | " |
| " | Mortagh O'Bryan and David Roche | ... | 159 |

CONTENTS.

[21]

| | PAGE | | | | | PAGE |
|-------|------|---|-----|-----|-----|------|
| 1651. | 733. | Castlehaven's commission to Munster | ... | ... | ... | 149 |
| | " | His treachery there | ... | ... | ... | " |
| | " | His hostile behaviour in Tomond | ... | ... | ... | " |
| | 734. | His contestation with Hugh Oneylle and Dominicke Fanninge | ... | ... | ... | " |
| | " | He brought Limbricke to a sadd condition | ... | ... | ... | " |
| | 735. | Clanricarde disbanded three regiments in Conaght | ... | ... | ... | 160 |
| | 736. | Treachery of Costllagh now discovered | ... | ... | ... | " |
| | " | He makes conditions with Sir Charles Coote | ... | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Authors of Dillon's intelligence in restraints | ... | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Perfidy of Costllagh | ... | ... | ... | " |

CHAPTER VIII.

| | | | | | |
|------|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 737. | Emulation of Costllagh and Westmeath | ... | ... | ... | 161 |
| " | The factionists, Presbyterians | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Costllagh commanded the surrender of Athlone | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | His perfidie discovered | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 738. | Surrender of Athlone prejudicious to loyall Irish | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Passes on the Shannon surrendered by Terence Coghlane, Anthony Brabson, Luke Dillon, and Thomas Leicester | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 739. | Daniel Kevanagh, Charles Kevanagh, and Lewes Moore | ... | ... | ... | 162 |
| " | Inconstancie, foolerie, and treachery of Lewes Moore | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Walter Dungan, a temporizer | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 740. | Robert Nugent, James Keylin, and the Tories | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Alexander Hope betrays the Island of Deserte | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Nicholas Nugent hanged | ... | ... | ... | 163 |
| " | The Island surrendred—to the disservice of the nation | ... | ... | ... | " |

CHAPTER IX.

| | | | | | |
|------|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 741. | Intercepted letter to Ormonde from Patrick Bryan | ... | ... | ... | 163 |
| 742. | Bryan's letter to Edward Buttler | ... | ... | ... | 165 |

CHAPTER X.

| | | | | | |
|------|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 743. | Bryan insinuats Ormonde's title to the sceptre of Ireland | ... | ... | ... | 165 |
| 744. | The increase of faction | ... | ... | ... | 166 |
| " | A strange passage and objection | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 745. | Hugh Oneylle, Governor of Limbricke | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Castlehaven's disloyaltie and actions disciphared | ... | ... | ... | 167 |

CONTENTS.

| | SEC. | | | PAGE |
|-------|------|---|-----|------|
| 1651. | 745. | Muskrye powerfull and prosperous in Munster | ... | 167 |
| | " | Loyaltie of David Roche and Mortagh O'Bryan | ... | " |
| | 746. | Ormonde and his faction, confirmed traytors | ... | " |
| | " | A poore Catholicke's advice | ... | " |
| | " | The present Discoverie of Faction | ... | " |

CHAPTER XI.

| | | | |
|------|---|-----|-----|
| 747. | Clanricarde's stratageme, to the enemies avayle | ... | 168 |
| " | Armie and souldiers beguiled by the enemy | ... | " |
| " | Irish not permitted to fight by Clanricarde | ... | 169 |
| 748. | Daniell Kevanagh's courage | ... | " |
| " | Clanricarde's intention | ... | " |
| " | Surrender of Portumny, his chief house | ... | " |

CHAPTER XII.

| | | | |
|------|---|-----|-----|
| 749. | What Clanricarde is | ... | 169 |
| 750. | Castlehaven's treachery | ... | 170 |
| " | Irish go to Galway | ... | " |
| " | Ireton and Coote | ... | " |
| " | Limbricke blocked | ... | " |
| " | Let any man judge Clanricarde | ... | " |
| 751. | Consultation on appointment of Governor of Galway | ... | 171 |
| " | Preston created Viscount Taragh by Ormonde | ... | " |
| 752. | Basenesse of Clanricarde and Westmeath | ... | " |
| " | Constancie of Bryan Roe O'Neill | ... | " |
| " | Clanricarde's answeare to Bryan Roe | ... | " |
| " | Bryan Roe's reasonable objection | ... | 172 |
| " | The enemy's confidence in Clanricarde | ... | " |
| 753. | Sheep Island manned by the enemy | ... | " |
| " | Bryan Roe's couragious resolution | ... | " |
| " | Eighty-nine of the enemy killed | ... | " |
| 754. | Clanricarde's intent to hinder future service | ... | 173 |
| " | He appoints Costllagh Lord Justice and General | ... | " |
| " | Petitions to Clanricarde against Costllagh | ... | " |
| " | Westmeath refuses to oppose Costllagh | ... | " |
| " | Walter Dungan, in council of warr, a partisan for Costllagh | ... | " |
| 755. | Cankered action of Prelats | ... | " |
| 756. | Industrie of Anthony Geoghegan, Prior of Conall | ... | 174 |

CHAPTER XIII.

| | | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|--|-----|-----|-------------|
| 1651. | ^{SEC.} 756. | The Primate addresses the Metropolitans | ... | ... | PAGE 174 |
| | 757. | The Archbishops of Tuam and Cashel are not conformable | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Zeal of Thomas Fleminge, Archbishops of Dublin | ... | ... | 175 |
| | 758. | He dies in Galway | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Edmond Dempsie, the onely Bishope in Linster | ... | ... | " |
| | " | Bryan FitzPatrick, Vicar-General of Ossory | ... | ... | " |

CHAPTER XIV.

| | | | | | |
|------|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 759. | Thomas Deiz [Dease], Bishop of Meath, dies excommunicated in | | | | |
| | Galway | ... | ... | ... | 175 |
| 760. | His nephew, Oliver Deiz | ... | ... | ... | 176 |
| " | No Chapter in Meath | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Anthony Geoghegan, Vicar-General of Meath | ... | ... | ... | " |

CHAPTER XV.

| | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 761. | Queres by a Catholicke Englishman | ... | ... | ... | 176 |
|------|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|

CHAPTER XVI.

| | | | | | |
|------|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 762. | Our militia in Conaght in a poore takinge | ... | ... | ... | 179 |
| 763. | The Provincial Council of Ulster and the Primate | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | The Primat's answeare | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | The Bishop of Drumore does not much care | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Nicholas Byrne in the Congregation punished | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Drumore gott his desire from the Council of Ulster | ... | ... | ... | 180 |
| 764. | The Primate excommunicates the Council | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Grant to Drumore recalled | ... | ... | ... | " |
| " | Cause of his not appearing in the Congregation | ... | ... | ... | " |

CHAPTER XVII.

| | | | | | |
|------|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 765. | Acta Congregationis utriusque cleri Provinciæ Ardmachanæ, die 29 mensis Julij, 1651, in loco qui dicitur Cloghwater, diocesis Kilmorensis | ... | ... | ... | 180 |
|------|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|

| | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|--|-----|-----|
| 1651. | ^{REC.} 766. | Acts of the Congregation of both clergy of the Province of Ardmagh, commenced in Cloghwater, 29 July, 1651 | ... | 182 |
|-------|----------------------|--|-----|-----|

CHAPTER XVIII.

| | | | | |
|---------|---|-----|-----|-----|
| 767. | Ecclesiastical Delegates appointed | ... | ... | 183 |
| 768-72. | Acta per Congregationem Ecclesiasticam utriusque cleri, coram Hugone, Archiepiscopo Ardmachano, totius Hiberniæ Primate, etc. Ultimo Augusti, 1651 | ... | ... | 184 |
| 773-79. | Acts by the Ecclesiasticall Congregation of both clergie assembled before Hugh, Archbishops of Ardmagh, and Primate of all Ireland, etc. Ultimo Augusti, 1651 | ... | ... | 187 |
| 780. | Zeale of the Congregation of Ardmagh | ... | ... | 191 |
| " | Clonmacnose and Prior of Conall appointed Agents | ... | ... | " |
| " | Edmond Dempsy, Vice-Metropolitan of Leinster | ... | ... | " |
| " | Refraction of clergie of Conaght | ... | ... | " |
| " | Behaviour of clergie of Munster | ... | ... | " |

CHAPTER XX.

| | | | | |
|------|--|-----|-----|-----|
| 781. | Clanricarde, Generall in Conaght | ... | ... | 192 |
| " | His counter-manning orders for destruction | ... | ... | " |
| " | Inhumanitie of Conaght men | ... | ... | " |
| " | Clanricarde, noe souldier or a traitor | ... | ... | 193 |
| 782. | Art Oneylle and Teige Conor go towards Mortagh O'Bryan | ... | ... | " |
| " | Leinster forces scattering | ... | ... | " |
| " | Bellaleige taken | ... | ... | " |

CHAPTER XXI.

| | | | | |
|------|--|-----|-----|-----|
| 783. | Advice given to Deputy Clanricarde by Lieutenant-General Fennell and Lewes Moore | ... | ... | 194 |
| " | Cabinett councill held by Clanricarde | ... | ... | " |
| " | Danger of Leinster party | ... | ... | " |
| 784. | Intelligence sent to the enemy | ... | ... | 195 |
| " | Treachery of Clanricarde | ... | ... | " |
| " | Bryan Mac Phelim Byrne stays behind | ... | ... | " |
| " | Coote and Venables march to Ballimore | ... | ... | " |

CONTENTS.

[25]

CHAPTER XXII.

| | SEC. | | PAGE |
|-------|------|---|------|
| 1651. | 785. | Malice of the factioniers discovered ... | 195 |
| | 786. | Duke of Lorraine's letter to the Prelates ... | 196 |
| | 787. | Confutation of the factionists' assertion ... | 197 |
| | " | Devillish and false surmishes of factionists ... | " |
| | " | Injury done to the honor of the Prince ... | " |
| | 788. | Doctor Edward Tyrrell's letter from Paris ... | 198 |
| | 789. | Observations on his testimony ... | " |
| | 790. | Westmeath, Generall of Linster ... | 199 |
| | " | Bellanacargie besieged by Venables ... | " |
| | " | Westmeath denyed relife to the Ulster men ... | 200 |
| | 791. | The Primate's letter to the gentry of Ulster ... | " |
| | 792. | Answeare of the gentry ... | " |
| | 793. | Bellanacargy relieved, and Venables endamaged ... | 201 |

CONTENTS OF APPENDIX.

| No. | | | PAGE |
|--------|------------------|--|------|
| I. | 1649. March 25.— | General Owen O'Neill to Plunket and Barnewall ... | 203 |
| II. | " " | — Sir George Monro to Owen O'Neill ... | " |
| III. | " April 13.— | Relation from Ireland.—Partly in cipher: A Relation taken at Havre de Grace, the 13 th of April, 1649, stylo novo, from a gentleman that came newly out of Ireland ... | 204 |
| IV. | " " | — Sir Phelim O'Neill to the Marquis of Ormonde ... | 208 |
| V. | " " | 18.—Colonel Hugh Maguire to Ormonde ... | 209 |
| VI. | " " | 24.—Daniel O'Brien to Ormonde ... | 210 |
| VII. | " " | 29.—Lucas Taaffe to Donogh O'Connor ... | 211 |
| VIII. | " May 4.— | Letter from Irish Catholic Camp: " Epistola Nobilis Hiberni ad amicum Belgam, scripta ex castris Catholicis eiusdem regni die 4 Maij, anno 1649 " ... | " |
| IX. | " " | 8.—Articles between Owen O'Neill and Colonel George Monk ... | 216 |
| X. | " " | " Monk's reasons for Cessation with Owen O'Neill ... | 218 |
| XI. | " " | 9.—Scottish Officers in Ulster to Monk ... | 219 |
| XII. | " " | 13.—Sir Phelim O'Neill to the Earl of Castlehaven ... | " |
| XIII. | " " | 20.—Ormonde to Father Luke Wadding, at Rome ... | 220 |
| XIV. | " " | 25.—Monk to Oliver Cromwell ... | 221 |
| XV. | " July 3.— | Letter to Michael Jones on movements in Ireland ... | 222 |
| XVI. | " " | 14.—Intelligence of Cromwell's embarkation for Ireland ... | 223 |
| XVII. | " " | 31.—Lord Inchiquin to Sir George Lane ... | 224 |
| XVIII. | " Aug. 4.— | Irish Commissioners to Ormonde ... | 225 |
| XIX. | " " | 6.—Mayor of Wexford to Ormonde ... | 226 |
| XX. | " " | 12.—Ormonde to Owen O'Neill ... | 227 |
| XXI. | " " | 10.—Monk and Parliament at London ... | " |
| XXII. | " " | 22.—Ormonde to Owen O'Neill ... | 229 |
| XXIII. | " " | " Owen O'Neill to Sir George Monro ... | " |
| XXIV. | " " | 23.—Ormonde to Owen O'Neill ... | 230 |
| XXV. | " " | " Council of War on Defence of Drogheda ... | " |

APHORISMICAL DISCOVERY

OF

TREASONABLE FACTION.

FOURTH BOOKE OF APHORISMICALL DISCOVERY OF 1649. TREASONABLE FACTION.

CHAPTER I.

As poyson is of such force that it corrupteth both bloud and spirit, besiedginge, 493.
seizinge and infectinge the heart with the venomous contagion therof, quit alteringe Cicero.
the complection and disposition of the man that hath drunke it: soe the pestiferous Seneca.
desire of soveraigntie, though it cease on a minde of milde and mansuete disposition, Liv. l. 28.
yett it is of such forcible operation as it not only altereth man's nature, but maketh Salust. Jug.
man unnaturall. Maph.
Supp in Virg.

"Heu dulce venenum—Et mundi lethalis honos."

It is high time now wee speake a litle of clergie faction, while wee leave Ormonde 1649.
busie in applottinge a vaste summ of money to make up a greate armie. I made mention, no. 337, of Fr. Redmond Caron, Lector of Divinitie in the Irish Colledge The contrarie-
and Fryerie of Lovaine, reputed there a good religious and a learned man; he was ties in Carons
apointed Comissarie Visitator and Judge of the Franciscan Fryers of Ireland, by power.
the Comissary Generall of Flanders, Marchant, contrarie to the lawes and statuts of that province, in such a busines behalfe, havinge, in their proper intermedium-
chapter, confirmed, by severall generall chapters of the whole order, the present- Statut of the
inge of foure religious fathers to the Comissarie Generall, for the time beinge, of order.
whom must of necessitie (standinge to the said use, statuts, and custome) nominate one, this statute is putt in due execution upwarde now of forty yeares; Marchant,
in disrespekte of all that is thought legall and religious in this said province, assignes Father Caron, aforesaid, by faction pretended, by bribes assented unto,
and by corruption authorized, more then any such of his ranke may be, nay more then himself might lawfully doe, if in person extant.

Caron now arrived to Kilkeny was receaued by both Ormond and faction, with 494.
many gratulations and kinde intertainments, to shewe his power and the pre- Caron in
heminencie of his legislator, had his patent to be both Comissarie Visitator, Judge, Kilkeny.
and Executor Mandatorum, a thinge hitherto never hearde off: that a sentence did
issue against any partie by the bare intimation of his adversarie, the partie him-
self never heard or questioned, what judgment Marchant did conceive against the
Provinciall and other regular members of the province of Ireland, by the onely
misinformation of a fewe withered and apostat members of the same order, with
the dayly infusion of some malignant, factious, lay parte of the late Supream
Councell, the parties neuer heard, as aforesaid, this must Caron putt in execution;
execution presupposeth a sentence, a legall sentence cannot be without both parties

1649.
Strange proceedings, but according to the times.

The duration
Comissarie
Visitator.

Joan. 10.

The extraordinary
change of
Caron.

495.

Father John
Ponce, his
letter to the
Archbishops of
Dublin.

be hearde, this later wantinge, the former must halte; therefore the patent in that behalf voide, notwithstandinge began to put his said extraordinarie power in practice, without apeeringe before the Diffinitorie (which is the Supream Councill of the Order and Province), by whose admission may be authorised, and not otherwise, surrendringe him, for the usinge of such his incumbencie, for six monthes onely to continue) the litle seale, that the Provinciall useth for homely matters, as for the greates seale he keeps still in his owne custodie duringe his time of trienniall government, to be given onely to the newe elected Provinciall. But this Comissarie Caron, disrespectinge all those religious ceremonies warrantable by lawe and statute, contrarie to regular institution, intringe not by the doore (as a pastor should doe), but as a theefe, elsewheare, made both greates and smale seales for himself, contereitinge those of the province (which the very Generall of the Order could not lawfully doe, se solo, by vertue wherof managed all by martiall and civill sworde rather than any spirituall power, displaced guardians, abbasses of nunries, nay the very Provinciall he deposed (quantum in se erat), all which extravagant to his power, or any such of his ranke, whose discussion I leaue and referr (as prolix in this place) to its genuine authors, members of the same Order, to vendicat, onely will touche here in this our treatie such things of it as conduceth to our intent, the discouerie of faction: By the way of obsearvation you may note, the incredible metamorphosios of this Father Caron, beinge as formerly in the predicament of religious and learned man, but noe sooner did treade upon Kilkeny ground, and conferred to those abusers of loyaltie, but was soe traduced by the exhaustinge of that factionall and contagious poyson, that his hearte was seized and infected with the uncurable venome therof, that it quit altered his complexion and disposition, corrupted his bloude and spirit, that insteade of mansuete and milde, is by the pestiferous desire of authoritie become sottish, heath[en]ize[d] and false, perverse and irregular, it beinge of such forcible operation, that it transverted his nature, to be to both countrie and religion unnaturall, whom wee leaue for a while, plottinge all mischief against his conscience and Order, and speake a litle of Peter Walshe and his queres, as best suitinge here.

You remember wee spoke of Fr. Walshes queres, no. 472, and what character wee give him there, to whose confirmation you may add Fr. John Ponce, Lector Jubelatus of Divinitie, a member of the same order, his letter, in answere unto another of the said Walsh sent unto him, the date wherof is in October last, but arrived about this time, I meane the last of February followinge, the author herof writes another letter unto Fr. Thomas Fleminge, Archbishops of Dublin, and the former in this inclosed, whose tenor is as followeth:

By a letter sent me by Father Peter Walsh, I am enformed that your Grace hath wholly withdrawn himself from the Councill, in theire controversie with the Nuncio, wherof the said Father complaineth much in his letters, which have beene exceedinge gratfull to me, and wilbe, I am sure, to all your fathers of Rome, whoe have beene extreame sorrie, when wee understoode, you not onely signed the Cessation, but sided afterwarde with the Councill against the Nuncio for it; I sende your Grace the inclosed, in answere of mine to Fa. Walsh his letter, which if you

think fitt to send him, please to doe it; if not, dispose otherwise of it. It is my 1649.
honor to be censere, and accordingly I have expressed into him my minde, as I
have don by worde of mouth to Father Rowe, the Carmilitt Provinciall, whoe I am
sure will not prevayle against the Nuncio in Rome, notwithstandinge as many false
groundes as he will propounde into them, for the justification of what the Councell
soe unhapily concluded, and indeede in such a manner, that though, it may be,
they proceeded really, yett any one that knowe not theire designes may verie well,
without any rashnesse, suspect theire proceedings, and feare they intended some
harne to Catholicke religion and good of the countrie. Would to God they did
well consider, that the Nuncio opposinge himself could not want in soe Catholicke
a countrie soe many as would stande for him, that necessarily they will bringe
themselves and the contrie to these miserable distractions, but I beleieve they
thought things once concluded he would not withstande, and he likewise presumed
of theire obedience to the church, they would not adhere after his censures to
what they had indeede rashly and prejudiciously (if I be not deceaved) agreed upon,
soe that amonge them all the poore kingdome is in hazarde to be quitt undon.
However, your Grace hath behaved yourself as become such a prelate, I pray the
almightie to continue his asistance allwaies to that end, and give him longe life to
the proffit of that kingdome, honor of his Order, and comforte of his friends and
servants, amonge whom I hope he will giue him leaue to ranke himself that will
allwaies remain

Your Grace, his worthlesse disciple and chaplaine,

Fr. John Ponce.

Paris, 25 Octobris, 1648.

For the Archbishops of Dublin, Fr. Thomas Fleminge.

For the Revd. Father, Fr. Peter Walsh :

496.

Reverend Father,

My honored freinde, Father James Thalbot, delivered me your
Reverence's letter and a booke yesterdaie, and after perusinge of both as I
perceaved the good tallent and facultie which God had bestowed upon your
Reverence, particularly of declaringe your minde in a good, cleere, and not affectedly
eloquent maner, soe would I with all my hearte, for the loue I owe to God and to
my countrie, and allso to my Order and yourself, of whom I have had many good
relations, that had beene pleased to imploy it, better in a more worthy and
profitable subjecte for then, beside that it would bringe fourth better fruite, I thinke
God would asiste you as that you should not comitt soe manifest an error, as it
seems unto me you have in that your booke, in the fatheringe therof upon soe
learned a prelate as the Bishops of Ossory, I would thinke him notably wronged,
which censure of mine that you may see not to be rashly giuen, for without
sufficient ground, I would haue you onely consider the verie first quere with the
answere therto, wheron dependeth all the rest of the discourse, and consequently,
if faylinge, the rest may haue noe subsistence. And if I be not wholly deceaved in

Answer of
the said author
to Father Peter
Walshs queres.

1649.

all the whole discourse, you doe not answere at all to the queres, for you doe not with any maner of reason shewe that the articles of Cessation with Insichuyne are not against Catholicke religion, for a sufficient grounde of excommunication, which is what was inquired, and what principally belonged to any one, that would justifie the Councells proceedings against the Nuncio, and the unhapie (if not the enfamous) Cessation made with that unnaturall enemy of God, kinge and countrie; but the most parte of the discourse is bestowed upon the prooffe of a truth, not denied euer by the Nuncio or any of his, and consequently most unnecessarie to be treated of in such a serious occasion, even like those whoe havinge to prove, for the maintaininge of some of their positions, a discourse wherof the maior is certaine, the minor, either false or doubtfull, fill up many lines in prooffe of the maior, with as many citations and reasons as they can either themselves thinke upon, or collect of others, and when they come to the minor, where the difficultie is, easily passe it over, with some weake grounds of noe substance, for the pretended effecte of provinge their position. I haue seene myself, not longe since, a discourse sent from Irelande, not soe eloquently penned in Latin as yours is in English, but to my judgment much more solidly grounded, in which the verie first preambles were, that the controversie now in difficultie was not, whether a league or Cessation may be made for good ends with hereticks and Turks, that beinge by all graunted, but whether the cessation made in that time with Insichuyne was prejudicious unto the Catholicke religion and good of the countrie? which was not there soe amply proved for the affirmatiue partie, that I confesse I haue beene conuenced to beleieve it, neither haue I in your discourse founde anythinge at all that seemed unto me to have as much as an outward probabilitie for the negatiue parte, wherfore I must confesse consequently that the Cessation made hath beene a sufficient grounde for Excommunication and other censures. And suposinge this, it followeth in the present case that the Apellation made hath not beene of any force to hinder the effecte of it, notwithstandinge yours and Doctor Fennells tedious discourse to the contrarie, in which, as in the other, you prove what was not to be doubted, that an Appellation (suposinge a probable cause) made in due time may hinder the effecte of an Excommunication, or at leaste suspende it, untill the cause were examined; but you doe not touche but most slaightly what euery meane casuiste canott be ignorant off, that it cannot prevayle sometimes, particularly when the harme prevented by the excommunication may not be remedied, if the effecte of the Appellation be expected, and the censures, which are (as is suposed) the onely meanes to hinder them, suspended. These therefore are the two principall points that you should prove. First, that your cessation hath not beene prejudicious to the Catholicke religion, either in itself, or in the hinderance of greater increase of it.

Note well the
nullitie of
Walsh,
his treatie.

497.

Secondly, that in case it were an Appellation made in time, that if it were admitted the benefitt lost by the Catholicke religion by it could not after be restored or recompenced, that I say, in such a case, yett it was valide and suspended the effects of the censures: neither of which, to what I see, haue either Doctor Fennell or yourself don, and consequently your discourse haue served onely to beguile those, that not reflectinge upon what you haue don, though you haue performed what you tooke in hande, and to side with them whoe opposed them-

selues to the Nuncio and the true jealous prelates and Catholicks that adhered unto him. Now you must giue one leave to reflecte a litle upon some other parte of your letter, and particularlie upon the first in these your present distractions; noe aprobatation of superiors is needfull of printinge bookes tendinge to the settle[ment] of the government: good Father, consider onely but the end for which such an aprobatation hath beene ordained, I neede not specife it, you canot your self be ignorant of it, and if you doe, I am sure you shall scarce euer finde out any circumstances of time or substance wherin it may be more necessarie then now in your owne present troubles, for the matter in controuersie is betweene the Popes Legat and soe many worthy prelates and other persons of greate request on the one side, and the Supream Councell of a kingdome, with many others of eminent condition, of the other; and the subjecte of the controuersie is of noe lesse consequence then such as the spirituall and temporall of the same kingdome dependeth on; wherfore I thinke greater care ought not to be had of not writtinge any thinge that may offende, or be prejudicial in any whatsoever occasion then in such a one, and consequently due aprobatation is most necessarie. Secondly, you say you thinke it as meritorious acte to passe ouer unto Flanders without any licence in the self same circumstances of time, in which one ought not (as you say) stande upon puntillos: Is it, I pray, a puntillo for a religious to be an apostate? but I dare sweare there is noe superiour of your Order in the world whoe would not esteeme any that come soe, and for such pretences as you may haue really a most absolute Apostat. Pardon me, deere father, I say what I conceaue to a brother whom I loue, and a freinde whom I esteeme; I canot tell whether ever any generall heresie had such dispositions, preparinge the way before it, as I see now in that kingdome, though I verily thinke they doe not thinke soe themselues, whoe I beleeeue are resolu'd to venture a thousand liues for the maintenaunce of Catholicke religion. I will omitt what you say of the just imprisonment of your Provinciall and the unjste chastisement of Father Valentine Browne and Father George Dillon, because he was against your side, and these for it. I passe ouer likewise your urginge a visitator with power to depriue your Provinciall and Diffinitors, and placinge others in their places, men forsooth of vertuous life and solid doctrine, that is, whom you will judge to be such, and they must be measured accordinge their inclination to the Councells proceedings against the Nuncio. I come to the third. I must not beleeeve or relye upon any thinge my right honorable lord and master the Archbishops of Dublin writes unto me, because he is intoxicated with bad opinions. Good God! to whom then shall I giue credit? to you? O can such presumption inter unto your braine, that you thinke yourself worthier of beleefe then such a most eminent prelate in all respects in the world? Or can you thinke me to be soe simple or senselesse as to preferr your opinion before his? I protest before God, I thinke if any in Ireland be intoxicated in such wise it is yourself, or at leaste none (that I knowe) more then yourself, which (God is my wittnesse) I say not to offende you, but to the end you may reflecte upon yourself, and remember you are a fryer of the holy Order of the most holy Father S. Francis, whoe would preferr before all the duties that which he could beare to his Holinesse, I am sure to his Legats; and beside that, you are too yonge to vade unto these

1649. graue matters in opposition to such greate persones as you deale, indeede with lesse respectes then may become a person of greater sufficiencie and authoritie.
498. I haue been about to make an end here, but it came to my mind to discourse a little more upon your answeare to the first queres for a greater confirmation of what I said before, concearninge what is onely there said to the purpose of justifyinge the Cessation is, first, that nothinge in the Articles is against religion, justice, good life, and that by the second and first speciall provision is made for the advancement of faith and vertue, through Insichuynes quarters, by free exercise of Catholicke religion, by possession of churches and churche livings, where Catholicks held them at the comencement of the treatie. Secondly, that there was greate necessitie then to conclude the Cessation, which you prove, because the power of the enemie was encreased in all parts of the kingdome, all parts and maritime places of consequence, beside fise or six beinge in their hands, neere two parts of the three of Ireland either in their possession or under their contribution, their armies victorious, their fleete givinge laws to us at sea, shuttinge up our hauens, two vaste kingdomes verie neere to backe them, and on the other side, the Confederats fallinge to such an ebb, &c. Good Father, why did not you consider when you made this discourse that it should come, not onely to the knowledge of simple people, that onely conceaue what is sett before them accordinge the exterior shewe, without penetratinge unto the substance of it, but allsoe unto wise and learned men, such as knowe the state of Ireland as well, or rather much better, then yourself? If you did, I thinke you would be more warie of what you write. I graunte you that the enemies power hath beene soe stronge, and that of the Confederat Catholicks soe weake, and that consequently a Cessation or peace was necessarie; I graunte this, though I haue many solide doubtts of the truth of it; but the question is, whether it was to be concluded with Insichuynes, after he forsooke the Parliament and declared himself for the kinge? when he had noe kingdome to back him, noe fleete at sea to helpe him, noe freinds within or without the kingdome to furnish him with any thinge necessarie for maintaineinge warr any longe time, where after havinge shewen himself soe unnaturall to his countrimen a litle before, he incurred the hatred of all the true Catholicks of Ireland in such wise, that I am sure there is not any amonge them all whoe would not more willingly contribute to make up and maintain forces against him onely, then against all the English and Scotts in Ireland. When My Lord Nuncio and Owen Oneylle (however the contrarie faction most ungratfully speakes of him and his armie, havinge at leaste thrice most manifestly saued Ireland from totall subjection), when, I say, they tooke upon themselves to master him, and at least keepe him within his principall garrisons, a thinge indeede nothinge difficulte in the consideration of any one of an indifferent eye, and which he himself soe feared, that he was resolved to leaue Ireland, in case he could not drawe the Councill to peace or Cessation, as I know by as good authoritie as any as you can haue in Ireland for the contrary. The question, I say, is, whether in such circumstances peace or Cessation were to be made or concluded with him on these articles (though in themselves they may be soe good, as they were sufficient to make a Cessation upon them, with either Johns or the Scotts, whoe had kingdomes, fleetes, and freindes to aide them, and to proue that it could
- 499.

be concluded with him. You should shewe, either there were necessitie com- 1649.
 pellinge to doe it, which I am sure you shall neuer be able to doe, much lesse haue
 you don it, or else that some greate good of Catholicke religion could be procured by
 it, which is as impossible to be don as the other. And I mervayle much that you
 haue urged the provision made in the second and first article for Catholicke
 religion, whearas they haue nothinge there, but that Catholicks may haue free
 exercise of religion in Insichuynes quarters, and where they had it before, payinge
 contribution, which I am sure they should haue, and had it alreadie on that
 condition without any Cessation, which if it were not concluded, they could easily
 be reede of payinge any contribution unto Insichuyme for the pacte, and the
 freedome graunted to hereticks in the same quarters (if we pleased) taken from
 them, soe that by the Cessation it is manifest, and may be easily further proved,
 Catholicke religion not onely gott noe benefitt, but lost verie much of what it may
 with all probabilitie pretende to the greate propagation of it, if the Cessation were
 not agreeed upon. By which you may easily gather an answeare to the note you 500.
 putt in 26 leafe (to the end, I thinke, to make the Nuncio somewhat more odious, by
 makinge him suspected of lesse good will to his Majestie then I am confident he
 hath), in which note you thinke it strange why the Nuncio condescended to a
 Cessation with the Parliamentarie Scotts, and with Insichuyme himself, when he
 was for the Parliament, and yett opposed him to a Cessation with him, when he
 declared himself for the kinge. You may, I say, gather from what I now discoursed
 on, the true answeare, which is, that when he was for the Parliament, it was much
 more difficulte to subdue or make warr with him, by reason of the helpe by sea and
 land he may haue from the Parliament in England, Ireland, and Scottland, then
 when by declaringe himself against them for the kinge, he was deprived of all that
 helpe, neither did the Nuncios answeare (when he said he meant a league and not
 Cessation with the Scotts or Insichuyme when Parliamentaries) imply, as you gather
 out of it, that a league with hereticks may be lafull and not a Cessation, for he
 acknowledges that the one is as lawfull as the other, when sufficient grounde is for
 it, but that there beinge reasons for a league, as bringinge greater good for religion
 then may be expected by warr, it may be most lawfull, and there beinge not such
 for a Cessation, it may not be. I omitt what you amplifie of the povertie of the 501.
 kingdome, which though it be verie greate, yett the effecte proves it is not soe
 much, but it maintaines now soe many armies, and sithence the Scotts doe not stirr
 out of theire quarters, or cannott doe it well for the present, one of the three
 Catholicke ones could easily bridle Johns, while the other two dealte with
 Insichuyme, whose knowinge his owne weaknesse to resiste longe, would infallibly,
 in case Cessation with him were thought soe profitable, give farr better conditions
 then were admitted, if the Councell were pleased to insiste upon it, and not make
 such hast to conclude the treague with him, and that in such maner, as any one
 may without greate rashnesse suspecte some ill ends, whether really there were any
 or noe. By which all may be without any difficultie deduced that, what you say
 of necessitie and utilitie for concludinge the Cessation, are groundlesse said, whearas
 the contrarie is morally at leaste certaine, and consequently, though without the
 Nuncios opposition at first, and his censures at last, it may be there weare noe sin

1649.

in agreeing to the Cessation, yett after his censures, for the reasons by him specified, ignorance onely may excuse from mortall sin, and one of your learninge canot doubt, but that, though the incurring of an Excommunication require a mortall sin, yett the verie prohibition under Excommunication may make an action mortally ill, which otherwise would be noe sin at all, or at most not but a veniall sin; from which likewise followeth, that without any mortall sin, any Confederat Catholicke may and ought to rejecte the Cessation, and that in such a case, which you verie falsly (pardon the worde) say to be a civill busines, beinge not onely indirectly, but most directly pertaininge to religion, their obedience to the Nuncio obligeth farr more then that they may owe to the Catholicke Councell, and that the Councell itself, and consequently those that embraced the Cessation, could and ought in conscience, and without any breache of fidelitie, draw themselves from it, because of the opposition made in the verie begininge by them whoe had power, for they could not oblige themselves to any thinge but they may in conscience comply with; and Insichuyn could not justly complaine of them, especially beinge not brought to any disadvantage by the not mantaininge of the Cessation more then he was, in case it were not concluded at all. Vpon all which if you reflecte, I beleve you would not with such like respecte speake unto My Lord Nuncio and the prelates that were of Councell with him, or write in your answeare, as you haue don.

502.

To the second queres, that the censures putt upon you did in effecte prohibitt against the laws of God, fidelitie in lawfull promises, religion in sacred oathes, and obedience unto the supream civill power, in matters concerneinge temporall goverment, and that they comaunde breache of faithe, perjurie, and disobedience, a harsher censure then which I knowe not whether any hereticke in his greatest furie did euer pronounce against any Catholicke prelates, and verie ill becominge as Catholicke, and much more a Franciscan fryer of such yeares and experience as you are yourself, for which censure and the other you haue in the end of 20th leafe, I hope you will yourself, after due reflection, giue what satisfaction you may to the world, for feare of some particular chastisement to be therefore hanginge ouer you and these that gaue you such directions, if there haue beene any. But howsoever, in my opinion, what you say of I knowe not what libelliste may seeme verie fittinge for yourself, that your penn had too much gall and poyson, to which others will add likewise the rest, a greater censure then which doth desearue. Your discourse of the 38 pagina, wherein you haue layed downe as much grounde as may suffice, if accepted generally, as God forbid it euer should, to destroy all subordination unto His Holinesse, in what at leaste concerne the power of his censures, but all is conformable to what I said before, that you haue amonge you there the greatest disposition for introducinge heresie that euer nation had, before it fell from the profession of the true faithe: I add, because the rest of the discourse depends upon false supositions for a reflection on what you say in the 41 pagina of the obedience not due to superiours in doubtfull controversies, when one hath juste feare of any notable inconvenience of life, fame, and fortune, by obeyinge, he is not bounde to doe it; but why should I add anythinge, sithence hereto is most falsly supposed, that one could have any just (that is, well grounded) feare for opposinge the Cessation of all Catholicks, as they should, would concurr to the opposition. Lett

Others will
add poyson.

Peter Walshes
hereticall
assertion.

then the addition be to what you write, fol. 42, wheare you say that one Doctor 1649.
 examininge the reasons of a doubte pro et contra, may make a probable opinion
 against any number how greate soever, which doctrine needeth a longe comentarie
 to defende it from beinge most harmfull, and you urge the number of these soe 503.
 graue and learned persons, as are for the Cessation against the censures, of which
 I beleue you choosed the worthiest to subscribe to your booke, but I am sure, if
 their qualitie of learninge, and of some of their liues were knowen, all the
 multitude would scarce make up one sufficient vote, as I knowe meself partly and
 am enformed by others, for other parte I knowe not. It is true the Bishopes of
 Ossory and Meath were in their time learned, but it is knowen their age hath
 brought them now to such a state, as they may not of themselues giue any
 probabilitie to what is giuen fourth in their name, and surelie it shewes greates
 desire of deceaivinge people by the authoritie of whom should approve your booke to
 putt it out in the name of the Bishope of Ossory, and as his name was putt for
 author to your discourse, soe may Medensis his name be thought to haue bene
 likewise putt in the place for some others, which proceedings in such a matter
 confirms the suspition which many haue of want of censeritie on your side. I will
 end this too tedious discourse with bringinge to your consideration that, what you
 treat in ye answere to the 6th queres is esteemed by me to haue been putt fourth
 of sett purpose, to render the Nuncio odious, as one whoe had any such pretence
 to dispense in the oath of association, wherein all his proceedings did insiste, and I
 am sure neuer thought to dispense in it, or else to giue to understande that the
 oath of association did binde to adhere unto the Cessation, and consequently now
 without dispensation, which could not be graunted, or could in conscience oppose
 himself, which with 203 leaves is not true, and not proued in the answere to the
 7th queres, but suposinge false principles. And I pray, if the Divines and Doctors
 of your side, though learned ones, whoe haue subscribed to your booke, and gaue
 their approbation to it, may make a probable sentence which one may followe
 without breache of conscience (as you taught before) sithence there are soe many
 prelates and learned men on the Nuncios side, how may any one lose his soule,
 for adheringe unto him against the Councell? Truly for my parte, if I weare in
 Irelande, and tooke the oath of association a hundred times, I would to my abilitie
 oppose meself to the Councell, whom onely I can excuse by ignorance from breache
 of that oathe when they concluded that Cessation, and now mantaine it against the
 Nuncio, and that is my opinion of your self, and of all the rest that adhere to them.
 Wherefore since I cannott otherwise helpe either the one side or the other, I will,
 with as greates earnestnesse as I may, pray to the Almightye to be pleased to bringe
 you all to one union, that therby you may overcome your enemies and bringe the
 kingdome to such a posture, as the Catholicke religion may peacably be established
 in it, to the honor of God, to whose keepinge and direction I leaue yourselfe; the
 29 of October, 1648.

His opinion of
 these two
 Bishopes.

Your servant,

Fr. John Ponce, Lector Theologiæ Jubilatus.

You see what censure does this graue Father yeld of the iniquitie of the 504.
 VOL. II. C

1649.

Cessation, the solid ground of the opposers, the invaliditie of the apeale, the nullitie of the aprovers of Walshe his booke, the sanidie fundation wherupon builded, his misenformations in his addresse, and other such foperie and illusorie inductions, all which doe confirme and ratifie what we hitherto haue spoken in the presente discourse. I am confident if this learned man did see this our now peace with Ormonde, and the articles therof pursuant to the former Cessation, without the sense and aprobatation of either clergie or kingdome assembly (other then whoe formerly adhered unto the Councell in behalfe of the said Cessation), would not be of abilitie to bridle a zealous passion reproveinge publickly theire uncatholicke proceedings; if he did write in Latin, he would prove admirable and convencing. Out of this answere you may collecte these ensuinge erroneous propositions, printed and taught by Father Walsh, which are as followeth:—First, that licence of superiours for the aprobatation of printinge bookes in time of warr, or other trouble, is needlesse, especially if such printe instruments doe tende to the settlment of gouernment. Secondly, that it is as meritorious for a religious man to goe beyond the seas without the superiours licence, as havinge it, to desire it he calls puntillo. Thirdly, he alloweth of the imprisonment of the Provinciaall as lawfull and just by onely civill power. Fourthly, he desires not to give credence unto any worde or letter of My Lord Archbishope of Dublin. Fifthly, he taxeth My Lord Nuncio of swarvinge from His Majestie and adheringe unto the Parliament. Sixthly, he gives a bad character of My Lord Nuncio and his prelats. Seventhly, that My Lord Nuncio and Congregation censure did prohibitt against the lawe of God, fidelitie in lawfull promises, religion in sacred oathes, and obedience unto supream civill government. Eighthly, he disannulls all subordination of inferiour ministers unto His Holinesse the Pope. Ninthly, obedience is not to be yelded to superiours in doubtfull matters. Tenthly, that one Doctor examininge a doubte pro et contra, may make a probable opinion, safe in conscience to be followed, against any number soe greatesoeuer of Doctors. Eleventhly, that My Lord Nuncio did dispense, in the oath of association. These eleuen propositions, full of poyson in the zealous heart of any censere Catholicke, were bleached by printe and otherwise by Walshe against the persons therein concerned as dangerous, injurious, false, erroneous, and hereticall, for fitter oportunitie to vendicat by the spirituall authoritie we leaue, and speake of other matters.

A breefe of
Fr. Walsh,
his errors.

505.

Sir Thomas
Esmond, a
spurious son of
Laurence
Esmond.

The cause
of Charles
Kevanaghs
restrainte.

Neere about this time Captain Charles Kevanagh (spoken of n°. [blank]), still obsearvant of My Lord Nuncios decree and of the Catholicke Generalls partie, was taken prisoner by Sir Thomas Esmond, a spurious son to Laurence Esmond, Lord of Linster Limbricke, and brought to the Castle of Kilkeny, where he continued for 3 or 4 weekes. The chiefe motiue was (except the inveterat hate the said Esmond beared the noble familie of the Kevanaghs, and his sidinge with both clergie and Owen Oneyll) that he combined with 4 or 5 companies of Colonell Richard Butlers regiment, worked soe farr in those, that they followed him from Tulloe, he and they with others of his owne did continually over run the three adjacent counties, Wexford, Wickloe, and Catharloghe, to the mightie trouble and disquiet of the factionists and theire chiefe leadinge men there, wherof this Esmond was one, comaundinge a partie of both horse and foote, but not daring to shewe his face upon any indifferencie (though farr over

matchinge the other in number), did severall times lay in ambush for him, many a time he escaped, but at lenght was taken prisoner, as aforesaid, and now remains in the castle in companie of one Omphry Mc Criffin Kevanagh, and an Englishman of Insichuyns partie, comitted for some extortion. These three did combine (treatinge one day of their proper poore case, and fearinge some worste consequence to followe if not prevented) to aply the best salve possible to that sore; pursuant therto they addresse themselues to make an escape, though dangerous to be attempted, the English man a prime author therof, and thriued soe well, that they putt the same unto a hopfull issue, maugre all dilligence to the contrary. Now in saftie, Charles did make much of the said English gentleman his comrade, but could neuer be won to Ormonds partie, soe generous and Catholickelie inclined he was.

1649.

Those three
escaped.

CHAPTER II.

PROVE a man unthankfull, and disprove all his other actions, tainte him justly of this and twit him worthylye with all that naught is; for there is noe obligation to tye a man to honestie and faithfull performauce (next that of oath) soe stronge as this of gratitude. And therefore there can be noe such maculation to the honor of a prince as to abandon men of greate worthe and small meanes, whoe haue engaged their liues and are taken prisoners in his service, givinge them ouer to perpetuall imprisonment, or to pay their owne ransome.

506.

Plin. Paneg.
Cicer. Off. 2.
Auson. epig.
Lip. 6.
Livi. l. 4.
Petronius.

Cum fortuna manet, vultum servatis amici,
Cum cecidit, turpi vertitis ora fuga.

Huigh Mc Phelim Byrne, Lieutenant-generall of the Linster Catholicke forces, was in restraints in Dublin, with severall other comaunders of the said province, since the defeate of Lince hill, untill about this time, fully fve quarters of a yeare, whoe might be enlarged very often since, if the Councell were pleased, or had any sparke of honor or honestie in them, for such prime men perishinge in their service, and not endeavouringe to worke their saftie either by ransome or exchange, but givinge them over to perpetuall imprisonment for such their unthankfullnesse, may be deservedly twitted with all that is naught. Neither can I excuse those verie same prisoners (now enlarged) from the same vice and tainte of ingratitude towards Owen Oneylle, whoe nobly worked the libertie of the said Lieut.-generall Byrne, Major Charles Geoghegan, Captain Mathewe Geoghegan, Captain Edward Geoghegan, and others, the first by the exchange of Sir Theofilous Johns, Colonell of foote, and My Lord Lyells page, taken prisoner in this gentlemen's company, and the others, by the Catholike Generalls bountie, industrie, and dilligence in requitall of such a generous acte, it was confident in the opinion of all rationall men that they would adhere and joine with Owen Oneylle, and in the behalf of Catholicke religion. But noe sooner enlarged, but arriued to Kilkenny, and ther receavinge by Ormond and his now Commissioners of Trust their former

Huigh Mc
Phelims longe
restraints.

Major Geo-
ghegan,
Mathewe and
Edward Geo-
ghegan, en-
larged by
Owen Oneylle

1649.
The Lienten-
ant-generalls
policie not
thrivinge.

incumbencie, but the Lieutenant-generall began with some seeminge policie (to undermine, as he thought, the Councell), did worke otherwise, called his regiment unto a bodie, recruited some captains, and reformed others, desiringe by his supplicatt addresses the Commissioners orders to leaue his meanes for that of his restraunte acruinge, and withall desireinge amunition for the future safeguarde of both the castles, Carne Owe and Arcloe, then in his possession, whose returned him, as satisfaction, the best hopes that could be expected to thrive, sure this gentleman was (as was thought) well intended towards Generall Neylle, and though to cloke the same worked to his power the reducement of Colonell Bryan Mc Phelim, his one eldest brother, and a sure member of Generall Neylls partie, to the now government, and this onely to palliat his said intentions, and indeere himself to the faction, but the other as firme as a rocke would noe way be won or undermined.

507.
Ormonds passe
did not avaylle.

Actinge all those wayes, sutable (as he thought) to his pretences, despairinge to bringe those unto its wished end, unlesse did personally sollicite it in courte, wherfore he sued My Lord of Ormond of his safe conducte to Kilkeny, not that he feared any miscariadge for his actions, except malevolous mindes did comente his intentions, but to cleere all doubts of misconstructions. Very willinge was Ormond to comply with this request, and therefore did remitte the same with a limittation of daies, recevinge the saf-conducte, repaired to Kilkeny, wherin did spende all the foresaid peremptorie time without fruite, untill within 4 daies, preventinge the worst, left the towne, havinge the said foure daies for his returne to his proper home. Beinge out of the towne, Ormond did comaunde Castlhaven with a troupe of light horse to followe and bringe him backe in the nature of a prisoner, which was ad literam accomplished, and notwithstandinge his said safconducte, was comitted to safe custodie, where he continued for 4 weekes, at whose expiration was conditionally enlarged that he should surrender Arclowe, possessinge the same by lease from Ormonde, the proper lande lord for soe many yeares to come, and Carne-owe, which he held from the late Supreame Councell, as in morgage of a certaine quantitie of money payable unto him, for his meanes, noe publicke covenante, noe promise, or other hand writinge, is tye enough against this peere, thus was Lieut.-generall Byrne used, or rather abused, and worthyly, as not beinge as gratfull of their chiefe benefactor, as gentlemen should be.

Strange pro-
ceedings of
Ormonde.

CHAPTER III.

✓ 508.

Cic. de Am.
Salust. Jug.
Tacit. An. 4.

As he that is freinde to all, is true freinde to none, soe that which hath many heades, hath noe heade at all, a multitud is this many headed monster, which hath neither heade for braines, nor braines for government. And as in a medicine, if there be not a due proportion of the simples in the mixture, there is a mischief for a remedie, not a remedie for a mischief, soe in a popular state, where there is noe equall temperature and counterpoise of the nobilities

power, against this stronge ingredient of the multitude, there is disorder and a way open for confusion. 1649.

Non ego ventosæ plebis suffragia venor,
Impensis coenarum et tritæ munere vestis.

Horat. 1. Ep.
19.

Wee left Ormond, no. 492, with his recent gouernment after banishinge all iudicature and legall proceedings, unmindefull of oathe or covenante, all the custodiams of the kingdome, brought to proper disposall without any dependencie of his Commissioners intrusted, wherof was mightie liberall, one onely custodium he did graunte to seauen severall men at one and the same time, as he did the custodium of Ballinakill in Leyse, which he bestowed on one Mayor Nicholas Mortemer, Montgerrott, and fewe more, all which apeered the one and same day and unexpectedly mette one another to inter possession of the said graunte, each in particular thought himself to be the onely interested without controlment, and never suspectinge, nor once dreaminge of others challenge therin, but all apeeringe and comunicatinge theire affaires to each other, all and singular did shewe is title for the said Lordship under Ormonds hande, upon sight wherof amazed, fell in jolitie to a freindly atonement, that the eldest date should carie it, all was within one weeke, by the said covenante Mayor Mortemer did carie it, notwithstandinge in a smilinge moode tould My Lord of Montgerrott, that My Lord Lieutenant was too liberall in this busines, and though, said he, I cannot presume to be as liberall, I will venture to be as generous, in regarde wherof I doe surrender your Lordship my title herin, thus that custodium was left to Montgerrott. This same Mayor Mortemer gott seauen other custodiams from the Lord Lieutenant, but noe sooner graunted him then a seconde, third, and fourth, had the same individuall custodium graunted them. Some times this Mortemer by order of My Lord Lieutenant kept at home, for some seeminge busines, untill one of the grauntees did take possession of the custodium now in question, and thus Mortemer was frustrated of all by this jugglinge; all which custodiams he graunted and bestowed to his owne freinds and Puritants, without regarde had of the publicke comoditie there out acruinge for the advance of the cause in agitation, which might come to a vaste summ of money for the kingdome service, if soe applyed or imployed, but this was the leaste of his thoughts, onely to prove himselfe friende to all.

His liberalitie
in grauntinge
custodiams.

The generous
acte of Mortemer.

Custodiams
gott Mortemer,
but all to noe
purpose.

The former gouernment of the Confederat Catholicks was farr better reigled then the present, as of lesse mixture (untill inimicus homo superseminavit zizania) and more simples, but now by the accesse of Ormond, mixture was made of these two simples, optimacie and democracie, but disproportionall, this later beinge hott in the highest degree, haue the predominancie, which the diuersitie of opinions, humors, natures, religion, education and birthe, canot otherwise effecte, hence must growe suspitions, jealousies and factions, the nobler parte (since euer faction did arise) haue had lesse authoritie then was fitt, yett the populasse thought them ambitious, and challengers of more then theire due, this fecall parte intrudeth unto all deliberations of weightiest consequence, wherof were incapable (as wittnesse all treatie of peace and Cessation with both Insichuyne and Ormond) all the nobilitie of Monster, except Muskry, were meere strangers unto this newe introduced gouern-

508. [*sic.*]

Democracie
introduced by
the late Coun-
cell and con-
firmed by
Ormond.

1649. ment. Soc was Vlster and Conaght, except Clanricarde, the ringleader of Conaght. Insichuyne is alreadie of this mixture with the fox of the Catholicke goverment. All Puritants, Protestants, Covenantiers, are by Ormond invited, shewing himself freinde to eache in particular. Colonell Johns, governor of Dublin and all Linster for the Parliament, is nowe eagerly sued unto by Ormond, that he may be a member of this familie of loue, which jointe did prove democracie indeede. Three severall letters did Ormond writte unto Johns, desireinge, perswadinge him with all vehemencie to joine with him, as the Kings Lieut-generall, and Generall Governor of all Ireland, Sed quæ coniunctio lucis ad tenebras, vel Christi ad Belial? Amonge the rest writes unto him as followeth.
509. Now that the maske of hypocresie, by which your armie in England hath insnared and enslaved all estates and degrees of men, is layed aside; now that barefaced they evidently apeere to be the subvertors of true religion and the protectors and invitores, not onely of all false ones, but of irreligions and atheismes; now that they haue barbarously and inhumanly layed violent sacrilegious hands upon and murdered Gods anointed and our kinge, not as heartofore some patri- cides haue don, to make roome for some usurper, but in a way plainly manifestinge their intentions to change the monarchy of England unto anarchy, unlesse their aime be first to constitute an elective kingdome, and Cromwell, or some such John of Leyden, beinge elected then by the same force by which they haue thus farr compassed their end to establishe a perfecte Turkishe tyranie, etc.; now, I say, I cannot doubt, but that you and all that are with you, or under your comaunde, will take this oportunitie to declare and acte against soe monstrous and unparallelled a rebellion, wherein I shall assure you there is nothinge that you can propose for the saftie, satisfaction, or advantage of yourself, or of any that shall adhere to you in what I desire, that I shall not to the uttermost of my power provide for;—hitherto Ormond in his first letter to Jones.
- His character of Cromwell and the Parlia- ment Inde- pendent.
- His offers to Jones.
- Parte of Jones answers.
- He calls his authoritie in question.
- When Ormond did send the armie to the Presbyterians.
- (510.) Jones doe answer:—Yours of the 9th instant I receaved, wherein I haue your invitation to a conjunction with yourself (I suppose) as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and understande not how your Lordship should be invested with that pretended power, but well assured I am that it is not in the power of any without the parliament of England to giue and assure pardon for those bloudie rebells, as by the acte to that end passed may apeere. As to your Lordships consideration offred of the present and late proceedings in England, any proceedings of state is noe parte of my worke and care to take notice of, as foraigne to my charge and trust here, for adheringe unto you were a manifest betrayinge of that trust reposed in me, in desertinge the service and worke comitted unto me, in joininge with those I should oppose, and in opposinge whom I am obliged to searve. Most certaine it is, that the intermedlinge of governors and parties in this kingdome with sidinges and parties in England hath beene the verie betrayinge of this kingdome, as your Lordship might well obsearve, that your withdrawinge and sendinge hence unto England the most considerable parte of the English armie then comaunded by you, whose end hath beene very obsearvable; upon your capitulation with the parliament you then delivered as your sense that the English intrest in Ireland must be presearved by the English

and not by Irish, from which cleero principle I am sorie to see your Lordship now receding; for the Irish by this your peace are to haue a standinge force of fifteene thousande foote and 2500 horse, all of theire owne partie, officers and souldiers, and those to defende Englishe intrest and the puritie of Protestant religion. For my particular I shall (My Lord) rather choose your menaces of bloudshed, to suffer in soe doinge (for therin I shall doe what is becominge and answeareable to my trust), then to purchase to myself, in the contrarie, the ignominious brand of perfidy by any allurments of whatsoever advantage offered me, thus givinge your Lordship plainely this my resolution in that particular, etc.

Signed, Michael Jones.

1649.
He taxes him
of desertinge
his trust to the
Kinge.

Dublin, 14
Mar. 1648[-9].

Ormond Reply.

As for my power, I heartily wishe there were noe other arguments necessarie to your satisfaction then such as might prove this authoritie to be derived to me by the same power that in all ages since the conquest hath, and only can, dispose of the governmant of this kingdome, soe that whatsoever your understandinge of the matter may be you must looke for imposters, and bare pretended authorities neerer home for the title bloudie rebels, which you apropriat to those with whom this peace is concluded. You may know that by an article of the peace all such are excluded from pardon; and therefore I conceive it is that one Father Reylyl, an actiue instrument in crimes of that nature, is, as I heare, treatinge for conditions for himself and others with some of a like dye, not that you, or any with you, are herby any further intended then as you or they shall abett or adhere to those in England that undeniably are soe. You are much mistaken when you say that those forces and the whole kingdome are to be regulated by a mayor partie of trustees of the Irish; there be nothinge in theire power through the whole articles extendinge either to the regulatinge of an armie, or any peece of one, much lesse of the whole kingdome; and euen in those powers deriued to them by the articles, which for the most parte are in matters of levies and taxes upon theire owne free-hould, there is a negatiue power left to the chiefe gouernor for the time beinge for the more equall execution therof, in case any Protestant or Protestants estate hapen to be therin concerned. What you speake of English intrest I am still of the same opinion. I shall not denie but that beinge pressed, principally by the partie for whom the mentioned Fr. Reylyl is said to be now treatinge at Dublin, I made choice to capitulate with you and others imployed by the two houses of Parliament to that end, and unto theire hands to comitte the keepinge of the places I could noe longer hould, then to give them up, or suffer them to be taken by an armie instigated by a foraigner to the danger of the whole kingdome, and the destruction of those I had soe longe protected. And you may remember the expressions you were then pleased to make in detestation of any violence to the Kings person, or the just rights of his crowne, from which loyall expression I am sorie to see you now recede. If you please to looke againe upon that parte of my letter which you interprett a menace of bloud and force, you will retracte that parte of yours that charges me with it, or else must give me leaue to thinke you were willinge to

511.
Ormonds
reply.
All that ad-
hered to the
clergie are
here exempted
from pardon.

He means
Owen Oneylla.

The restrixion
of the con-
ditions of
peace.

He giues for
excuse that he
was forced to
surrender
Dublin for the
Vlster armie,
and the
foraigner is
My Lord
Nuncio.

1649.
But false.
His jealousy
with Owen
Oneylle.
512.

The cause of
Ormond's
second reply.
He is verie
suspicious of
his designes as
an intro-
duction to be
Kinge.

His opinion of
those Catho-
licks, that
they stande
still bounde to
the oathe of
association;
his is good,
but theire
compliance
naught.

Owen Oneylle
should not be
deluded.

He answeres
ad hominem.

He taxes him
of the Kings,
beheadinge.

take a slender occasion to manifest your resolution to some other then to me. Thurles, 27 of March, 1649. (Signed) Ormond.

The rectifyinge of mistakings in mee concearninge your Lordships proceedings, and the satisfyng of others that they be not by that my letter misled, are by your Lordship declared the reasons movinge you to this reply, notwithstandinge all which I doe for my parte professe meself therewithall nothinge satisfied, nor my judgment thereby any waye convenced, soe as I should abate anythinge in my former conceptions of your Lordships waies and designes from apprehendinge them to bee, to the Protestants here, the Protestant religion, and to the verie English intrest in this kingdome pernicious altogether, and aparantly destructive, nor can I thinke any other (not interested in those your Lordships waies, or not caried on and biassed with particular respectes) will, on viewe of that your Lordship now offered, passe any other judgment upon those your proceedings. As for the Protestant religion, I canot but verie much wonder to finde your Lordship still assertinge the possibilitie and probabilitie of its beinge by you restored to its puritie, and settled by that armie of Papists. To shewe its improbabilitie, let it be here considered that now wee looke on those armies of Papists with you as on them whoe haue stiled themselues Confederats in respectes of that association and of those oathes wherin they stande bounde to the settinge up Romishe religion, and that to the greatest advantage; and how inconsistent that theire solemne profession is with theire restoringe the Protestant religion to its puritie, and soe settlinge it, I leaue it to all not Popishly affected (those with whom you concluded this peace doe looke on your Lordship with more then ordinarie respects). You tell me, My Lord, of him you call Fr. Reyly to be here treatinge with me, his treatinge with me was concearninge release of prisoners, nor doe I conceive I him or those of his partie such as are to be deluded with a treatie where is not power to graunte, noe not to receive what should be propounded, and if anythinge should have beene by him propounded, it could be noe more interpreted a treatie then may this with your Lordship; yett is he your Lordship now mentioneth the same, whoe was with others of that tribe sometimes by your Lordship imployed for treatinge with the rebells in the begininge of those comotions, but (if reports fayle not) with whom your Lordship would now close if you knewe how; but that were (it seemes) in me a sin, which in your Lordship were not, circumstances considered. Your Lordship presseth the late proceedings in England, those particularly against the person of the late kinge. Loath I was in my last to minde your Lordship of what then I might; I did not, but now must, beinge by your Lordship therunto thus enforced. That your Lordship may doe well to lay your hand upon your owne heart and examine there whether you may not there finde your self (I say) your self a principall occasioning that the kings suffrings, for it is euedent that your Lordship appearinge here as you had don, and as you now doe (the treatie at Carisbrooke then in beinge betweene the kinge and people, and uerie hopfully proceedinge), you gaue in your self and in your actions occasion to the kingdome of England to suspecte the censeritie of that treatie, which hath since occasionally produced what hath thereupon followed. In case there were neither Kinge or parliament I would ever stand to my principles, and to this my trust. I assure

meself your Lordship proceedings here haue very much occasioned what evils befell the Kings person, which your Lordship canot conclude as recedinge from my principles. Thus soe considered give me leave to give your Lordship this my sence clearly. I have cause to doubt your sendinge this your trumpett on this slight errand to be intended for other ends rather. I therfore desire your Lordship would be pleased for the future not in this kinde to trouble yourself or me any further, this beinge a dispute to be decided by the sworde, not by the penn; and that your Lordship would be pleased thus to understand mee once for all, for I shall never seeke meself, or my privat advantage to the desertinge of my trust, as have some others, a crime not to be after soe easily expiated by a slender or meane manifest. Soe I remain,

Dublin, March 31, 1649.

Mic. Jones.

1649.
Pinching
intimation.
An honorable
resolve.

Anothe taunt
for the sur-
render of
Dublin.

Both the other letters as prolix I doe not inserte here, onely that My Lord of Ormond did desire him to banish Reyly from his quarters, and that he was too suspitious of him, as in his opinion, mightie inclined to favour and countenance that disloyall, treacherous, false traytor, Owen Oneylle, to both which he answered that the said Reyly is as honest a man now as when employed in your service, as postilian betweene you and the Irish. As for that gentlman you speake off, I knowe not of all that partie that you joine now with, a more reall and honorable a man then he, as followinge his principles and oathe, neither doe I knowe more treacherous, disloyall, and perjurous, then those to whom your Lordship doe now adhere, your Commissioners of trust, which, if ever any indifferencie wee may have, will to theire prejudice apeere. By a menace of punishment unto the trumpeter did stopp further treatie in this behalfe. You may perceave by those addresses how Ormond was colloguinge with the world, insinuatinge himself to euery one, protestinge his uttermost endeavours to the furtherance of eache partie and function, how inconsistent soever, sweres for the advance of Protestant religion, by the mediation of a Catholicke armie, already sworne for its supression, and lustre of proper, he sweares to advance the confederation of Catholicks by the accesse of Puritant and Protestant armies, how impossible it be to bringe those unto one center of agreement is transcendent to all humaine sense, excepte the Omne potens Ormond, how well those impossibilities are soe esteemed and obsearved by Colonell Jones you may obsearve in his former answeares, and how he taxes him of beinge guiltie of the Kings misfortunes, of desertinge his trust, in sidinge with parties in England (which had beene the Presbyterian faction, and of his more then ordinarie respects by those trustees and theire factionall adherents (which extraordinarie is intended by somethinge more eminent then Earle or Marquesse of Ormond, Lord-Lieutenant or Chiefe Governor by any subordinat power apointed. Examen then what this might be, in relation to this more then ordinarie respecte, he inferrs that all his wayes and designes are altogether pernicious and aparantly destructiue to the English intrest in this kingdome, whom we leave for a while by Jones wounded to the quicke, plottinge some other inventions, and speake now of other matters hapninge this time.

513.

Ormonds
desire and
jealousie.

His opinion of
Owen Oneylle
and of the
trustees.

The positive
contradiction
of Ormonds
offers.

What taxed off.

1649. About this time Mayor Generall Neylle was comaunded, with a considerable
 514- partie of horse and foote of the Vlster armie, to come to the Countie of Westmeathe
 Mayor Generall to gett theire winter quarter, last winter due; the castle of Ballinalecke upon the
 Huigh Oneylle. Inhy was manned by the Earle of Westmeath, and mightie troubled the Countie
 Ballinalecke of Longford, and all passengers goinge to and fro, and specially churchmen. Huigh
 won. Oneylle, to free that passage, marched with his armie thither, desired by summons
 to yeld him the castle upon quarter; a negatiue resulte was returned, whoe fourth-
 with assayed the same, and was within a quarter of an hower won perforce; some
 of the best note there he hanged, to others shewed mercie (the fittest man for such
 a busines as you could finde); there was noe castle in all the countie, if pleased,
 but might haue had it upon that score; he left there as comaunder in chiefe, one
 Captain Walter Dardis, swearing fealtie to him and his generall, whoe was the
 appointed verie man that surrendered Athboy unto the enemie without a blowe, as no. [blank]
 gouvernor. touched; from whence he marched where he thought fitt in all the countie,
 mantaininge his armie for that present, and by his orders to the respectiue baronies
 and colonies in both Westmeath and Kings Counties, they aplotted what he called
 for, and extempore brought unto him, and doe beleeeve, if he desired such another
 The feare of from the Queenes Countie, nay the towne and Countie of Kilkenny, would willingly
 those greates remitte him the same, though Ormond and Insichuyne were there extant, soe
 peeres, timerous and fearfull they were leaste this armie did advance, and noe mervayle
 for— [sic].
515. Three garrisons of Generall Neylle, Mariborough, Reban, and Athy, all con-
 sistinge at the most of 400 foote onely, brought under contribution all the Queenes
 Countie, some of the Kings Countie, of the Countie of Kilkenny, of the Countie of
 Kildare, of the Countie of Katarlagh, nay forced contribution from the verie towne
 Extraordinarie and Castle of Katarlagh, where Generall Preston did inhabitt, they had soe much
 courage of a per weeke, if not, that this was more plyable to the lawe of armes, then whole
 handfull of men. distruction by preyes and pillage, the souldiers would not condescende unto this
 bargain, for the other was farr more beneficiall towards the comon souldiers relife
 in theire then extenuitie, from the borders of Ormond, alonge unto Ballinunnne 5
 miles beyond Katarlagh sowth this handfull of men did bringe that farr huge
 preyes, the matter of 22 miles on one side, and 20 on the other, many both horse
 and foote quartered in all them places, but other then upon mightie odds durst not
 apeere.
516. About this verie time Lieut.-Colonell Bryan roe Oneylle, with some of his owne
 troupe, arrived to Mariborough; by his asistance the foresaid 3 garrisons were
 mightie encouraged, and now and then his horse did good service; amonge the
 Thomas Husse rest of his horse was one Thomas Husse, a native of Meathe, was reputed a good
 revolted. horse; some complaints apeered before the Lieut.-Colonell by some of the
 inhabitants of the quarter against this man, Bryan roe gaue him some reprehension
 either by worde or deede, or both, the partie therby discontent, stole away and
 went to Katarlagh, and promised Generall Preston to acte some service upon the
 garrisons aforesaid, and specially against the person of Bryan roe Oneylle, if a
 partie of horse did waite upon him thither; foure score horse was comaunded with
 this man; arrivinge neere the towne, where he was acquainted, did place an

ambush, a verie foggie morninge it was, this partie did waite on the prey of the towne; the preye comaunded in due time to pasture, scarce the one moytie therof out of the gates, when 5 or 6 horse came betweene them and the gate, and whips me them awaye; upon this the other horse apeed, the alarum given, Bryan Roes horse, as neere hand, was presently made readie, never expectinge any other, well mounted, soone overtakinge the enemie, the musketires runinge after, both rescued the preye, he alone make havocke of all the adverse horse, none durst abide him, thus runinge after each, chasinge them out of that plaine, his horse (that neuer before failed him) became now a jade, stumbled and fell flatt under him, that by noe meanes, by spurr or otherwise, could he cause him recouer, wherupon, alone in the field, in this plight, with the scattered enemie obsearvinge, turninge backe, flocked about him, tooke him prisoner; his musketires by this, returninge from convoyinge the prey to the bawon, would rescue him, but that the enemie both menaced him to death, if any such were offered, and promised him faire quarter, and goe alonge willingly without such opposition, which caused him to comaunde the musketires to be quiet, whom when obeyed, was onely caried away, but inhumanly used such a noble gentlman, gave him to reede on an ould jade, tooke his coate of buffe, casocke, hatt, and bootes of him, nay the verie jewell, and relieke that he caried about his necke.

1649.
Bryan Roes
behaviour,
but taken
prisoner.

The inhumani-
tie of those
towards their
quondam
associate.

These miscreants soe abusingly would carie him alonge to Katarlagh, but Richard Oge Buttler, Montgerrotts sone, a neere kindsmen of his owne, rescued him, but caried him in the nature of a prisoner to Bellaragade Castle, where he continued untill certifyinge his wife, Jane Gray, whoe inhabited in Thurles, of his case, whoe sued My Lady of Thurles, Ormonds mother, to whom he shewed many good turnes, wherof she was sensible and gratfull, in returne therof she writes unto Ormonde, desiringe his Excellencie may be pleased to enlarge this gentlman, beinge her verie good freinde, in many occasions hertofore, wherupon was released upon parole, and as much of his goods as could be founde was restored him, but offered £50 ster. for his horse could never haue him upon any score. And soone after was exchanged for Colonell Burke, taken prisoner at Caradrumruiske last winter when Roger Maguire was killed, as no. 474 touched.

517.
He was rescued
by Richard
Buttler.

By the meanes
of My Lady of
Thurles
released.

About this time the Marquesse of Antrim, absenteing himself since his cominge from France from Ormonds government and from the malignant Councell, and noe mervayle, as highly abused by them, he spent some times in Wexford, that towne was much affected unto his Excellencie, for its betteringe by the trafficke his frigats; leavinge the same, lived for a while with Bryan Mc Phelim, some redshankes the reliques of Alexander Mc Colla Mc Danielle adhered unto his Lordship, whom Bryan Mc Phelim aforesaid nobly entertained as his owne, as longe as a beaste of his owne leasted, but povertie and scarcitie displayinge their truculent colours, his Excellency and that partie of readshanks, to the number of 250, marched to Reban, where both continued for 3 or 4 weekes; his Lordship was most desirous to be nominated Generall of the Vlster Armie, in Owen Oneylles place (as confident that he would bringe all the Irish and Scotts of that province to a right understandinge and perfecte unitie), leavinge the said partie that depended on him amonge the garrisons of Leyse, and poasted himself towards the north, aiminge to

518.
The poore con-
dition of
Antrim.

Bryan Mc
Phelims gener-
ositie.

Antrim did
looke to be
Generall, but
fayled.

1647. putt his former intentions in execution, a provincial assembly actually sittinge there then, but My Lord was farr deceaued (though Generall Neylle himself did move and seconde the said designe, by noe maner of way would the province admitt the same. Thus disapointed, his Lordship did continue there for a while, and then to Linster arriued, but his redshankes did adhere unto Colonell Alexander Mc Daniell, this Antrims brother.

519. Neere about this time, another partie of redshankes, under the comaunde of Clangarry, whoe escaped the battle of Lince hill, those did adhere unto Captain Charles (seuerally hertofore mentioned) Kevanagh, in the Countie of Wexford. Mac Thomas, Sir Thomas Esmond, Walter Dungan, Mayor Barnewall, Bagnall, and many others of the factionists, with their severall parties in one bodie, hunted those poore men, one day followed them to Duffry, whoe too much confidinge in the saftie of that place, as inaccessible by horse, as they thought, but foolishly deceived, horse might doe service there, as in most places in Lowe Linster, the Catholicke Irish and redshanks were circumvented by the horse, and inhumane and barbarously slaughtered both man, woman and child, onely Charles and the most of his men escaped (as better acquainted with the passadges of that countrie), but the poore redshankes, for the most parte were miscaried, Clangarie himself taken prisoner. I never obserued since those comotions soe much willingnesse in these revolted Irish, to doe service against the comon enemye (nay, nor usinge such crueltie towards any of them, how tyranicall soeuer they were), as against those that did side with My Lord Nuncio and Clergie, as wittnesse this bloudie scene, the barbarietie used towards the poore Vlster keraghts neere Athlone, by Preston and his partie, and seuerall other such ; God graunte us patience and time to doe penance.

Clangarry
taken prisoner
and his partie
inhumanly
killed in
Duffry.

CHAPTER IV.

520. TRUTH and vertue are rather to be embraced, and loved for their owne sakes, then for ours : for that they are good in themselves, not for the good wee gett by them. Princes therefore that make noe difference betweene truth and falshood, vertue and vice, but by the use, care not whom or how they deceive or wronge, soe they make that use. The actions and counsells of such men, as they are tainted in the nature, soe are they thwarted in the successe, for they alwaies prove dangerous to those that followe them, but especially in the giuers themselves.

Sen. de Clem.
l. 1^o.
Sil. l. 13.
Eras.
Claudianus.

Quam bene dispositum terris, et dignus iniqui
Fructus consilii primis auctoribus instet !

Colonell Jones
prophecie to
Ormonde
proued true.

Colonell Jones proues prophet to My Lord of Ormond now, taintinge Generall Neyll of disloyaltie and other bad characters, and diswadinge Jones to adhere unto him, to whom Jones, by a bye waye doe propheticke unto him what he now acts in hæc verba (to whom your Lordship would now close, if you knewe how, etc.) to comply this gentlmans predixion he begins thus. Roger Moore, a well spoken

gentlman, a cossen to My Lord of Ormond by his grandmother, fourth and fourth 1649.
in degree, though noe martiall man, was all the while for Generall Neylle, and of
his Cabinet Councell, now seeinge the one retired, and the other in publicke swaye,
addressed himself unto this to currie fauour, insinuatinge his prompte obedience,
and promises to drawe Generall Neylle to his partie; his Excellencie, puffed with
pride, was jealous of none, onely of him, which passion yelds a double effecte, feare
and hate, betweene these two, was for a while suspense, dubious what to answere,
consideringe his end for the kingdome service to be opposite unto his present
designe, could not but feare him, revoluinge former affronts ministered unto him,
could not but hate him, though he conceaued this gentlman to be a weake instru-
ment to drawe soe politicke a man on soe prime an adversarie to his sworne prin-
ciples and soe often injured, yett by the often insinuation, privat and frequent
assurances of thrivinge of this gentlman, his Excellencie did condescend to begin
his interprise onely by letters, passinge many faire promises of assurances unto
him, in the behalfe of realitie towards him and all Catholicks.

Roger therefore writes his letter to Generall Neylle how plyant My Lord of 521.
Ormond was to graunte him all he desired, comended him in his said letter unto
the verie skies, none was true, reall, beneficiall, naturall, etc., but his Excellencie,
and for conclusion desired him, if any way tender of the saftie of both himself and
the countrie, to giue his assent unto, by his perswation, and that by the very next
instrument from him. If not that, I am perswaded that the gentlman had don all
this bona fide, yeldinge more credence unto his Excellencies intimation, in that
behalfe, then was fittinge) I would thinke that such an informer alreadie possessed
of the posititue contrarietie of his assertion herin, did make noe greate difference
betweene truth and falsehoods, vertue and vice, but by the use; undertakinge such
a taske betweene such eminent persons of transcendent reache, might feare to be
tainted, but in the successe was surely thwarted, for Generall Neylle seeinge noe
authentication, or warrantable instrument from Ormond himself for such things
alleadged by this gentlman, and allsoe knowinge the subjecte from whom those
had theire beinge, was not as constant as a rocke, and noe other then homo, villi-
pended all his perswations, and gaue him such touche of misconstructions, either
in his witte or affection, or both towards the generall, and perswaded him to for-
beare further writinge such fopperies, this peece of intrudinge service did prove
dangerous for the actor, for both Ormond and Generall Neylle were highly offended
with him, the Generall for his facile beleefe and peremptorie perswation upon
groundlesse affaires, Ormond for not thrivinge, after soe many assurances in be-
fittinge language, and withall when he sawe how slightly Generall Neylle esteemed
and weaed his agitation, never after had him in the same predicament as before.
Thus Roger Moore thrived in his affection to Owen Oneylle.

Roger Moores
foolerie.

Omnis homo
mendax. Psal.

Owen Oneylls
result to
Roger Moore.

Ormond now gatheringe the Linster armie unto a bodie, did send unto Lieut.-
Generall Purcell, that he may haue the Irish armie there in a readinesse,
Insichuynes armie to marche unto Linster, by a peremptory daye, Castlhauen is
apointed chiefe comaunder of the Linster forces, untill his Excellencie come unto
the field, greate is the preparation, by thunderinge proclamations and unttyred
poastes to and fro; Edmond roe Buttler, Montgerrotts son and heire, as precursor

522.

Ormonds
preparations.

Edmond
Buttlers armie.

1649. to his brother in lawe Castlhauen, came with two foote companies and a troupe of horse to Cullinragh, 4 or 5 miles from his owne house of Bellaragad, the said Cullinragh Castle alreadie demolished by Generall Neylls partie of Mariborough garrison, and now manned with 7 or 8 men, idle boyes, or tories (though dependinge on the garrison aforesaide, he assayles the broken walle, an easie take, the defendants well behaved themselves, to the prejudice of the assayllants; but thinkinge them to be more numerous, as beinge night time, gott an honorable quarter, lives, armes, bagg and baggage marched away to Mariborough, leavinge that ould, demolished caske of a ruined castle, without as much as one stoole of furniture to sitt upon, unto this brave warriour the said Buttler. Next morninge turned home himself, and comaunds a partie of the said two companies, and the horse to Stradbally, where none did inhabitt (except two poore fryers, Fr. Paule Geoghegan and Fr. James Geoghegan (livinge most beggerly in that dispeopled towne), and two poore countrie tenants, that belonged and depended on them, and lived within the monesterie mure or bawon; the fryers neuer suspectinge to receaue any violence from such people, all natiues, bred and borne Catholicks, nor once dreaminge that they would use the least inconvenience or mischiefe to any of that function or condition. But farr deceived, for all that belonged to both fryer and other was snatched away by this partie; neither regarded fryer or other in their pursuit, embeshled the most parte by scatteringe them unto severall parts, and though these poore men did pay any countrie charges acruinge on their tenantshipe (notwithstandinge its imunitie by both civill and canon lawe), after Generall Neylls departure from them parts, they must ransome some of their said goods that did apeere, by 4 monthes contribution unto this crue, but what belonged unto the fryers was never yett restored; they thought it a lawfull preye, as sidinge and obeyinge My Lord Nuncios censures; camaunder in chiefe of this partie was one Patricke Money, apointed lieutenant of foote, and governor of the said demolished Cullinragh; the fryers exhibittinge complainte unto Edmond roe Buttler against this Money, as chiefe comaunder, and the verie man in whose possession was such goods as was caried from the fryers, and specially some hoggs, whoe graunted his orders for the restoringe of them, which is, etc*:
523. Patricke Money :—Understandinge that Teige Gaffney have taken some hoggs belonginge to the fryers of Stradbally, which upon sight herof must be restored this 24 of April, 1649. Edmond Buttler.
- Buttlers order against Money. The fryers was nothinge the better for this, though seuerally complained unto the said Edmond of the non compliace of this partie to their high prejudice. Neither yett those unchristian and inhumaine Tories satisfied, but next morninge, after the said theevvise robberie, came like enemies unto the said Stradbally to garrison the monesterie; which they did, in disrespects of religion, packed the fryers unto one, and the poorest cottage in all their proper monesterie, consumed all they had for their proper reliefe and sustenance, made the abby a stew-house; the said Buttler herof certified, did never redresse the same, rather augmented their grieffe with fresh supplies of untowarde people, belonginge to Edward Loftus, brother in lawe to Frances Cosby, antagoniste of the said fryers; this was the service of this Edmond Buttler, and
1649. Poore conqueste.
- The barbarietie of those.
- Excommunicated by this acte.
- Patricke Money.
- His intention in the former order knowne by this plaister.

thus used these poor fryers, for the space of 7 or 8 weekes, untill their owne 1649.
robberie and misdemeanour did cause them voluntarily to deserte the place, and
turne to their ancient trade of theeverie.

CHAPTER V.

IN a stricte morall sense, to speake and not to thinke, is rather leasinge then 524.
engenuitie, and therefore reprovabie. But necessitie giues a larger latitude and
freere scope to the manage of greate affaires, for nothinge is here more expedient
then that the enemy knowe nothinge of our deliberations, till they be putt in
action, nor of our preparations till they be on foote. It is therefore a usuall and
usfull policie, when such forces are prepared, either by sea or land, to pretende
them for one service, and intende another.

Erasm.
Valer. l. 7.
Lip. Pol. l. 3.
Liui. de Sab.

"Fieri quid debeat, cum multis tracta: Quid factururus sis, cum paucissimis, vel potius 525.
ipse tecum."

Veget. l. 3.

Ormonds intended action is bruted in all the corners of this kingdome by heraulds;
it was soe publicke that every kallagh doe knowe it to be for Dublin, nay, I beleue
all Christendome was possessed of it; sure it was not want of knowledge that caused
Ormond to betraye his intended action thus, but to giue time to the Parliament of
England to relive Dublin, as conformable to his former principles, and sutable to
it, to bringe and expose the poore Catholicke forces, now under his comaunde, unto
their slaughter house (as hereafter will apeere).

Ormonds
intent in the
publicitie of
this busines.

Castilhauen now, accordinge assignation in the field, marching with his Linster 525.
forces and traine of artillerie towards Mariborough, arrivinge thither, his summons
denied, he leaguers the same, and plants his ordinance. Captain Phelim Oneylle,
comaunder of that forte, was verie well intended of settled good resolution to defende
the place, and though all the castle was battered, had groundeworkes verie
defensible, amunition, men, and provision in abundance; the ordinance mounted
and played on the castle. But, one Daniell Oneylle, lieutenant to the said Captain
Phelim, did assure some or the most parte of the souldiers, by subornation and
promises of future preferrment, to his owne partie; and this, as dependinge on
Colonell Terlagh Mc Henry Oneylle, revolted from Generall Neylle (whose sister
was married to Lieutenant Colonell Meylds Reyllie, alsoe revolted), and then
in Castilhauens campe.) The castle did receave 17 shott of greate ordinance to noe
greate hurte, notwithstandinge the lieutenant with the foresaid suborned souldiers
(now disposed to play the traytor) tooke hould of the captain and vowed to kill
and stabb him to death, in case he did offer to defende the forte. The captain desired
them to be a litle patient, and looke more narrow unto their honor, reputation,
and the trust reposed in them; and in case they were forced to surrender, that they
should consider of an honorable quarter. Nothinge will satisfie this poore people,
but must agree to their treacherous motion, or perish. Unknowne unto the captain,
they were assured of their quarter (by the mediation of the said Terlagh), before

Mariboro'
besiedged.

Daniell Oneylls
treacherous
subornation.

Terlagh Oneyll
and Meylds
Reyllie
revolted from
religion and
countrie.

1649. Captain Phelim Oneylls generous resolution. the campe did sitt before the castle, the captain not comprehending therin, by this compulsion must condescende, and with much adoe obtained their allowance to goe in person to the campe, under the mercie of that enemy rather then abide the barbarous doome of his owne supposed friends. Thus goen and repairinge to Castlhauen, makinge his apollogie, his company was offered him and continue in the Linster armie; but he, like an honest man and an honorable captain, would neither for feare of restraints or love of preferment continue or forgoe his proper Generall, at length had a safe conduct for himself, his wife, brother, two men, a fryer with horses and armes, and what they could honorably carie of their goods; with this he tooke his leave for Vlster to his Generall, and thus Mariborough was basely and treacherously yeld to Castlhauen the 9th of May, upon quarter onely of lives and such armes as they carie still aboute them.
526. Reban demolished. When Captain Terlagh Oneyll and Lieutenant Neale O'Quin, residing in Castle Reban with their company, were enformed of this disloyall peece of service, by the assent of Captain Iohn Hagan, governor of Athy, burned the castle of Reban, caried their garrison, amunition, and provision to Athy, choosinge rather for their saftie and honor to make good one place against the enemy, either for an honorable surrender, or defence, then hazarde the whole by division and distraction. In Athy was 5 intire companies, except what was miscaried not long before this time at Grany in the countie of Kildare. Goeinge thither by night for a prey, their spie was a double one, for and against them. It had beene the custome of Captain Iohn O'Hagan not to sende his partie abroad at the peremptorie time appointed by the spie, fearinge some double dealinge. At this time was to observe the said custome, but a serjeant of his, by name Patricke Modorra Mc Camell, in all his affaires most intimat with him, perswaded him to send his partie the same night appointed by the spie; none was privie herof, other then the captain and this serjeant, whose too much confidinge in his loyaltie and secrecie, condescended to the saide motion, and comaunded Captain Daniell Mc Cana and this serjeant with the partie, beinge resolved the spie yett in towne, this Patricke tould him succinctly all that passed, whose was assured of proper quarter, for disposinge of those poore men to their slaughter house, away the spie goes to Preston and others by his direction, foure troupes and some foote were appointed to waite on that partie at Grany aforesaid in ambush that night, the partie tooke the prey, the ambush risinge against them, the enemy did call on the said serjeant by his name and office, whose presently answered and ran to whom from his owne partie, accordinge covenant, the prey was rescued, 30 men lost, and Captain Mc Cana taken prisoners; Thus did Patricke Modorra Mc Camell betraye his owne deere Captain and contrimen; beside those here lost, they were now in Athy 5 companies of couragious resolution, some of Bryan Roes troupe was there. If they were in hope of any reliefe, it would cost the assayllants too deere before they gott. Captain Hagan did send a poaste to Vlster to knowe whether there was any liklihood of reliefe, but received a negatiue resulte, notwithstandinge applyed themselves for defence.
527. Iohn Mc James Bryan, governor of Mariboro. Castlhauen did continue in Mariborough 9 or 10 daies givinge orders for the settle therof, appointed Iohn Mc James Bryan, a degenerat Bryane, Captain and Governor therof, and though captain, never yett seene in any field service, or careth

not what religion he be off soe he be in Ormonds favour, his land lord, he, his father and grandfather still his farmers; this man is a brother to Patricke Bryan the Ormondian lawyer, and double-tongued-barister. All this don, the Linster armie did marche towards Athy; Castlhaven did send summons to deliuer the towne; the deffendants, sure of noe relife, did intertaine a capitulation for surrender, in regard wherof the armie did marche forwarde and encamped within a mile to the towne, many disputed apered in relation to the quarter, but Governor Hagan did answeare for afenall resolution that he would neuer surrender or yeld the castle other then upon the ensuing conditions.

1649.

Athy sumoned.

Conditions of
surrender.

First: Their liues never to be questioned for any thinge thither unto don either by civill or martiall lawe.

528.

2. All challenges of freinde or foe, for debts, preyes, pillage, or other what-soeuer. 3. None of his partie to be arrested, comitted, or seduced upon any pretence, in the campe or elsewhere. 4. All their horses and armes and other warr-like habillement. All their bag, baggage, and luggage, and to lend them at their marche as many garrans able for cariage as will be necessarie for the transportation of the same to the north, a convoy either of horse or foote, or both, at their discretion, and the quantitie to be assigned by them. 7. To continue in the towne for 11 daies to sell and make away their things at pleasure.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

Those conditions presented unto Castlhauen and his counsell of warr, answered they were beyond his comission, it was resolved to referr those with a proper addresse unto the Lord Lieutenant. Mc Thomas was the messenger, whose repairinge thither, did both second and urge the compliyanee thereof, which were graunted by his Excellencie. Mc Thomas, thus thrivinge, repairinge unto the campe, shewed the effecte of his mission; some of the chiefe comaunders did oppose, alleadginge it to be contrarie to any sounde principle of warr, to graunte such conditions unto such a poore partie, destitute of all relife, by soe flourishinge an armie in the beginninge of their service, that such their lenitie would encourage others of the like nature to hould out. Of this result was Lieutenant Generall Purcell. Sheane O'Hagan, certified of this opposition, said to the hearinge of the counsell of warr, that if Purcell and all his monster forces were onely against him, would in noe wise descende as lowe as he did in the former conditions, but would expecte his humble capitulation to lett him goe Scotts free (the Linster were nothinge displeased herat). The rest of the comaunders agreede to My Lord Lieutenant, his graunte. Upon this the towne and castle was yelded; not onely the souldiers were included in this quarter, but all the inhabitants, fryers, and others, to have all their goods, movable and otherwise, and to continue in towne enjoyinge their respective freedoms, munities, liberties, priviledges, and charters, or deserte with saftie of both goods and bodies at pleasure. This had beene an honorable quarter, and not otherwise to be expected by the mediation of Sheane O'Hagan, a generous, couragious, and true man, his onely worde as sure a tye as any bounde of staple, as by the frequent doome of his verie adversaries was acknowledged.

Graunted by
Ormonde.Purcell did
oppose his
reasons.Captain
Hagans stout
answere.Those brave
and honorable
conditions now
graunted.Captain
Hagans cha-
racter.

529.

Havinge now their quarter signed and sealed by both Ormond and Castlhauen, the defendants were sent into the parish church of the towne, to continue there duringe their aboade for the disposinge of such of their goods as they could not

1646. The malice of Purcell. carie alonge. Greate jealousies were muttered in privat conference amonge some of the comaunders in the came for the graunte of such a quarter, studied all devices to cause the breache therof in the deffendants behalfe, movinge quarrells, to worke this way the enfrenchinge of theire said quarter (how ungodly soever, a practise too frequent with the author, Purcell) ; one night (by this impious insinuation) moued a quarrell to one Redmond Mellan, a trouper of Bryan roe Oneylle ; this man, not verie wise, and specially in time of drinke, as then he was, more then became one of his then condition, gave a stabb of a skine unto one of the campe souldiers ; the fellowe taken and comitted, Castlhaven and Purcell did sweare to hange him for the transgressinge the lawes. The scope and aime of those partiall judges was to see whether the whole partie did once offer to seconde rescue, or defende the partie leasinge, and then to massacre all ; but the politicke application and timely obsearvation of Sheane O'Hagan crubbed the rest, and went himself to the campe, to play not guiltie in the behalfe of his poore trouper, as beinge drunke (and consequently not a human acte) at the comittinge of the said misdemeanor, tould there publickly unto Mc Thomas and Sir Walter Buttler (whoe then proved his goode freinds) that many of the armie did abuse them, and all the northren people. Souldiers, said Mc Thomas, canot be tonged-tyed, but speake at randome, but if you could make good that any comaunder, officer, or man of note, did soe misbehave himself, he would be punished. At the same instant, a lieutenant of horse, a monsterman, passed by ; Captain Hagan espyinge him, started aside, tooke him by the shoulder, and drewe him before Mc Thomas, then Comissarie of the horse, by the articles of peace, and tould him this man is one that highly abuseth all the province of Vlster ; the partie examined denied all, wherupon Captain Hagan replied, Seeinge our prooffe is farr off, if a gentleman you be, and will in a single combate against me make good this your owne assertion, I will be behouldinge unto you, and withall by the consent of those gentlmen and comaunders prove you to be a lyer, in what you unshamfully formerly asserted. The partie spoke never a worde.
530. Mc Thomas did eugell this partie. Macthomas, obsearvinge what passed, and ashamed of the lieutenant's behaviour, gaue him 3 or 4 bastonados, and promised future punishment upon further prooffe. Captain Hagan, mightie offended as not havinge his will upon that cowardly fellow, tould there publickly, if he did conceave the leaste of these abuses before he surrendered, that he would never yeld unto the last man ; and now, said he, in prooffe of our valour, and that wee are sensible of such an abuse, doe desire to be admitted to inter the castle againe and win it, as you may ; or this not allowed, will in open fielde fight with as many of those our disparagers as longe as any of us will surveywe, for wee will choose rather to die in an honorable waie then live with such an aspersion. Those offers he made before meself (then a member of that armie). Macthomas did pacifie him, and worked with the councill of warr, that the said trouper Mellan was dismissed. Thus thriued this noble sparke, Captain Sheane O'Hagan. Within two daies after Fr. Thomas Brimingham, Prior of the Dominicans of Athy, with 3 or 4 fryers more in his company, repaired unto the campe, as enformed that Castlhaven, contrary to the former quarter, would demolishe the said monesterie ; but noe sooner there apeered, then Lieutenant-
- The misbehavior of an Vlster trouper.
- Captain Hagan's vigilancie.
- Mac Thomas his answer.
- Captain Hagan's action and challenge.
- The manly desire of Captain Sheane O'Hagan.
- Redmond Mellan dismissed.

Generall Purcell did comaunde a sett of musketires to aprehende and garde him and his companie (in disrespekte of both function and quarter), and highly threatneed them of further punishment, noe other cause apeeringe then for joininge to My Lord Nuncio and clergie censures (as such a regular man should doe), whoe with much adoe were dismissed by Castlhaven; O brave Catholicke, sworne for the furtherance of holy religion.

1649.

The Prior and his fryers comitted by Purcell.

The time limitted for Captain Sheane O'Hagan and his partie, accordinge covenant, is now drawinge on; the Captain therefore, like a warie comaunder, addressed himself to Castlhaven, desiringe in compliyanse of his quarter cariadge and convoe to be in a readinesse, and that the time apointed was neere hande. Castlhauen answered that the convoe apointed for that purpose was absent upon service, at its retorne would satisfie his intente. That day spent, neither convoe or cariadge readie, Captain Hagan the second time addressed himself to Castlhaven, whoe answered as formerly. The captain replied that he would not willingly subjecte to their mercie (havinge such a tryall alreadie of their rigor in that behalfe) as to continue longer then his quarter did warrant. The Generall assured him upon his honor that if delayinge upon the present score, and upon his crastinations, he would receive noe prejudice by; severall of the comaunders of the campe were in place, the captain could not helpe it, he must continue unto the verie last period of the time limitted. By times, therefore, the same morninge (past one or two howers more then the time apointed), readie to marche, cariage and convoe asistant, scarce out of the verie walls of the towne, when 5 or 6 troupers and a regiment of foote presented themselves unto them in posture of service, swared to slaughter every mothers childe unlesse they presently lay downe armes. The advantage of the multitude, and their cominge upon a sudaine, never dreaminge of any such passage, did putt the captain unto his dumms, as not well knowinge what best to doe. He was of opinion they intended noe lesse then murther if he yelded; pursuant herunto, thought it better and more honorable course to fight it out to the last man, though against such odds; thus contestinge, disputinge, and intended, a prime comaunder of the armie enformed of this base treacherie came poastinge to Captain Hagan, desired him not to endanger himself or his men, to lay downe unto him his armes, and did undertake to receive noe prejudice, the captain against his stamocke condescended.

531.

Captain Hagan's severall suites to Castlhaven.

The inhumaine proceedings of Purcell.

Captain Hagan's courage.

Sir Walter Buttler.

This partie was comaunded by Lieutenant-Generall Purcell, perswaded (as he afterwards alleadged) that the time limitted in the quarter was expired, and did sweare, if soe, that in spite of any opposers would shewe noe mercie, but butcher them all. The inhumaintie of this gentelman, a reputed Catholicke, one of his place and encumbencie, is notorious. Why should wee finde faulte with Timolin quarter, or any other such, when such a man, some time our sworne confederat, doe soe publickly misbehave himself contrarie to all lawes civill and martiall, oath and covenant? The cariadge and armes soe arrested, Captain Hagan went to the campe to Mc Thomas first, whoe still shewed himself his good friende in that exigence, whoe madd for the abuse offered, both went to enforme Castlhauen therof, whoe comaunded the compliyanse of the said quarter. Mc Thomas went alonge with his horse accordinge orders, the busines was like to be verie fowle betweene

532.

Purcell's cruell intention.

Mc Thomas his good friende.

1649. him and the former partie, those must forbear further troublinge, the poore Vlster lost by this tricke worth £20 at leaste, and severall of their men flenched from duringe this time by the surmishes of Colonell Terlagh Mc Henry Oneyll, Roger Moores son in lawe, and Leutenant Daniell Oneyll, spoken of no. 525), whoe was not worthy to be appointed captain of that company, rather subjecte to all reproache, as the butt and laughinge-stock of all the campe, as he passed by. Captain Hagan this dismissed, marched with his men and luge towards the north with the good wishes of all honest and well affected people, as well freinde as foe.
533. This armie continued here for the space of 3 weekes and upwards; such great preparations made for the future siede of Dublin, nothinge talked of but Dublin and its siede; this was knowne over all Ireland 9 or 10 weekes before this armye passed the Liffy. The day before the armie marched severall gentlemen of the said armie did meete in Woodstocke (where Mc Thomas then had his residence), Mac Thomas, Captain Morish Fitz Gerald of Allon, Sir Iohn Dowgan, Sir Robert Thalbot, Terence Coghlan, then commissarie of the victualls, a doctor of phisicke of the countie of Kilkeny, Wm. Garan, vicar of Ballisonan, and severall others, and one father Paule Geoghegan, a Franciscan fryer. Some speeche was moved betwene Sir Robert and the said Fr. Paule concerninge the validitie of the excommunication (that against it, this for it), the Father provinge the affirmation parte and the appeale to be both frivolous and illusorie, and consequently the Apelants to stande still excommunicated. Sir Robert, not able to answer cathedrally, began to be mightie angry and passionat, answeared, swearinge a greate oath, that the kingdome would neuer doe well as longe as any regular clergiman did therein inhabitte, and withall sweared that as soone as they gett Dublin they would putt this in execution, banishinge all such from the kingdome (I am an eye witnesse to this passadge meself, and thought very ill of the gentlman); you may partly conceave by this their cankered hearts and evill intentions. What? might any man of indifferent censeritie perswade himself that such men of soe damnable intentions might thrive? Noe.
534. This armie removed to the countie of Kildare, marched to severall pettie garrisons, loosinge men by assaults of noe greate concernment for their future service, graunted braue quarters to eache enemye garrisons; after considerable hurte don, they win all the garrisons on the west side of the river Liffy except Ballisonan, Mac Thomas his towne, which they left untouched, takinge Thalbot's towne and Castle Sallagh in the countie of Wickloe, packinge all those garrison souldiers, armes, bagg and baggage unto Dublin; at the now arrivall of both Ormond and Insichuine with their Puritans or presbyterians, easilie marched over the Liffy, wheare leasurly continued for a fortnight, a world of shuttlers followinge the campe. But an observeable thinge duringe their continuance there, every night some farie, witchcraft, or other destinie caused many of their horses to runn madd from the campe, through hills, montaines, and dales, some weare founde next morning or second day 20 miles off, others 10, and other some weare neuer founde, maugre all dilligent care to the contrarie; every night they ran away in greate heapes and number, which was thought by understandinge
- The Vlster parties loss by this.
- Captain Hagan marched to Vlster.
- The continuance of this armie neere Athy.
- Sir Robert Thalbot's verdict against the clergie, and why?
- The Author was in place.
- The armie takinge garrisons after greate losse upon braue quarters.
- It was bruted to procede of black arte,

witts to be mightie omminous (as it after proved). They drawe on by degrees 1649.
towards Dublin, and pitched theire campe at Finglasse, two large miles from But ominous,
Dublin, wheare wee leaue him for a while with all kinde of spoile and jolitie, and howeuer.
returne to Ante Commissarie Caron, whom wee left with his fryers in Kilkeny.

CHAPTER VI.

MEN can see to doe right betweene partie and partie, when it concerne not their 535.
owne particular: but beinge parties themselues, the case is altered, for here they Plut. De
which before were as sharpe sighted as linx, turned as blinde as a mole, and noe Curiositate.
mervayle, for profit and bribes putt out the eyes of Justice. Wherfore let him Erasm.
that would speede in an honest cause never referr it to a corrupt judge. Lip. Pol.
Claudian.

I have already noted of this Caron that he was in good repute in Lovaine, but the
matter did not then much concerne himself, neither was there any occasion to
pamper him with gould, beefe, and wine, as bribes to putt out Justice eyes, and play
him self the mole of all censeritie; himself with his penetential fryers, encendaries
of the Seraphicall Order, wee left in Kilkeny, keepinge conventicles, pamperinge
themselues upon Ormonds score in disrespekte of all that is religious, as havinge
the temporall sworde to further and asiste them. When the Provincial Thomas
MaKyernan, amost peacable man, was enformed of those exorbitant proceedings, in
regard the suposed commissarie, accordinge his dutie and religious obligation, would
not apeere before him, nor he to come to Kilkeny without eminent danger of life or
imprisonment, he writes unto the said Caron, desiringe him (as intimat with the
then state) to procure a safe conducte for soe many daies, and would in person
apeere there to agree, if possible it might be, which was accordingly don. Wher-
upon the provincial apeered, offered all regular understandinge of atonment, though
not thrivinge, within two daies to the period of his said limitted time, intelligence
receaved by a friendly wellwisher that he was to be taken prisoner (notwithstandinge
his said saf conducte), this first admonition did scarce beleeeve, as thinkinge such
acte to be against the lawe of nations, that any man havinge a safe conducte should
be comitted to restraunte, behavinge himself conformable therto, as this Father did
without the leaste blemishe or misdemeanour against the present goverment. But
next morninge, beinge truely and really enformed of the veritie of the late
intimation, away he went, notwithstandinge anythinge to his desire, beinge then in
saftie and without danger, he writes the ensuinge reasonable proposalls unto the
said Caron, which in the judgment of any indifferent judge is satisfactorie to any
rationall witte:

R^{de}. Adm. Pr., Raymonde Caron.

536.

Sequentia tibi consideranda propono:

Rogavi, ut expectares conventum Patrum Provinciae, quos mea et vestra 1.
authoritate citare obtuli, ad locum quem eligeres, ut tuam comissionem admitterent,

Caron and his
apostat fryers.

A safconducte
is sent unto
the Provincially.

But not
observed.

Fled away.

1649.
The Provin-
ciall proposals
to Caron.

et tolleretur quam de te multi conceperunt partialitatis suspitio, et ad quam auferendam ipse Reverendissimus pater noster Commissarius Marchant, in sua ad me epistola, una cum nostra comissione data, vult ut in judiciis ferendis accipas assessores, et promisi tibi meam operam et assistentiam ad procurandam, pacem, concordiam et charitatem inter omnes nostros Religiosos.

2. Recusasti expectare hanc patrum Provinciæ congregationem et voluisti ut
3. commissarius et judex absolutus sine ulla mora admitti. Ego tunc te recusavi ut judicem suspectum, qui nimis favorabilis es; imo patronus Apostatis, meisque aduersariis, qui tibi a consiliis sunt et secretis.

4. Quia vocatus ab ipsis es meis inimicis, eorumque muneribus et favore corrumpi videris.

5. Jura decernunt in causa recusationis judicis litem divini debere, per arbitros a patribus electis, qui in loco tuto et conveniente videre possent, an exceptiones propositæ contra judicem sint vel frivola vel legitimæ, et juridicæ, unde, ad hoc arbitrum elegi et locum ad quod respondisti me excommunicando, mihiq; minando, etc^a.

6. Ne tamen ulterius scandala oriantur, dico iam aliquammodo in tuto constitutus nec velle cedere in hoc jure meo, nimirum desistere a visitatione Provinciæ etc. ea conditione ut tu desistas a tuo impetuoso modo procedendi, donec consulantur Patres Provinciæ, et lis per ipsos determinetur, aut saltem processus questionis et difficultatis ortæ inter me et te ad Reverendum Commissarium Generalem, Marchant, censere, et de consensu aliquorum indifferentium Patrum mittatur, eiusque responsum expectetur. Interim vivamus in pace, sine scandalo cleri aut populi, regaturque Provincia per vicarium electum vel eligendum per diffinitorium.

7. Si Patres nostri ordinis tibi sunt suspecti, eligantur ex ordinibus alijs et ero contentus, si hi non placent, elegantur archiepiscopi, et ero etiam contentus.

8. Si in nullo consenserit, publicetur statim edictum meum contra obediētes tibi, tanquam fautores hæreticorum imunitatis ecclesiasticæ destructori, et apostatarum Patrono.

9. Causa Patris Patricij Plunketti differenda est: 1^o quia judicem recusavi. 2^o quia locus non est mihi tutus, unde non cogar litigare. 3^o quia processus contra ipsum factus est alibi, eligat igitur viros aliquos indifferentes. reverendus pater. et locum tutum et respondebo.

Datum in loco nostri refugij. 2. Junij 1649.

Hæc est copia vera concordans cum originali Fr. Thomas MaKyernan, Minorum Provincialis, quam infra scripti vidimus et legimus.

Attested by
these.

Fr. Franciscus Fferall, Lector Jubilatus et Diffinitor.

Fr. Pa. Brenan, Sacræ Theologiæ Lector et Præses conventus Kilkeniensis.

537.

The summe of
those proposals.

Those sounde and pregnable reasons were not of force to convince the Pharacinian heart of Fr. Caron. He offered him the arbitration of the diffinitorium (which is the Chauncery of the Order), or a Vicar-generall, to be choosen in the province, untill the controuersie was decided betweene both, that neither of both should rule, if he suspected those of his owne order, as not indifferent unto him, the provinciall is content to choose arbitrators any other regulars; or if this neither pleased him,

he offered to be said by any of the foure Archbishops of Ireland. The provinciall 1649.
 have don more in this busines then should have don, as humblinge himself soe farr
 (though for peace is sake) that he derogated from his proper authority, but all
 would not doe; the more humble and submissive the one shewed himself, the more
 proud, obstinat, and irregular the other proceeded in his corrupt waies, fauoringe
 hereticke, and won to be totally for them by bribes. As soone therfore as the
 provinciall was departed, as aforesaid, this ante-comissarie began to banish all the
 fryers of that order as did not adhere unto him, and when he perosed the former
 reasons, convincinge all rationall witte, was like to runn madd, and vowed against
 all reconciliation, other then goe forwarde in his intended mischiefe, seconded by
 the civill government pursuant therunto, he comitts to prison Fr. Patricke Brenan,
 Preses of the Convent of S. Francis of Kilkeny, and such other fryers as sided with
 him in the behalf of the provinciall; and this he did within two daies after the
 receipte of the said proposalls of Fr. Provinciall in maner followinge, attested by
 the Archbishops of Dublin, eye wittnesse in the said monesterie then resident :

The irregular
 proceedings of
 Caron.

Notwithstandinge all those faire profers for reconciliation, and sound reasons, 538.
 made by Fr. Provincial, for desiringe of obedience to the said Fr. Redmond Caron,
 the Franciscan Convent of Kilkeny was guarded with 14 musketires on munday
 morninge, beinge the 4th of June; and on Twesday followinge the fryers were
 compelled by force of armes to stay from honoring the buriall of a grave matron
 that was to be buried that day in their church; and about 7 of the clocke in the
 afternoone a boate was brought by two lustie yong men to ferrie the fryers over the
 river, and banish them, or else to carie them by water, prisoners to the castle with-
 out tumult. The busines was not caried soe secrett, but was fourthwith spreade
 over the towne, wherupon many yong men and women rushed in over the walls
 (the gate beinge guarded) to rescue their lovinge neighbours and goastly fathers
 from the hands of their aduersaries. Then comes Castlhauen with his troupe and
 trumpett soundinge, at 10 of the clocke at night, at whose cominge many honest
 women were by them pilladged of their rings and jewells, and the fryers caried
 prisoners to the castle, about 12 oclocke at night, of which proceedings lett euery
 censere Catholicke be judge. Dated as formerly, as wittnesse my hand.

Dublins
 certificat of
 those proceed-
 ings.

Castlhauens
 crueltie.

Signed, Fr. Thomas Dublinensis.

You may guesse by those proceedings what kinde of men are those persecutors 539.
 of holy religion; this Fr. Caron and his apostat associats will not agree to any
 reasonable, legall, or religious atonment, but use all severitie, injustice, and
 inhumanitie towards those pious, Catholicke, and inocent soules. O thrice unhapie
 Catholicke Generall, sworne to maintaine holy religion, that comes now in the dead
 time of night, with a regiment of foote-reddecoate-Puritants and a troupe of
 horse (sworne enemies to your former intentions), like another Judas Iscariotes
 with your armed cohors, to aprehende and imprison those followers of our sweete
 Sauour Jesus Christe, bringinge them as malefactors before your Pilat Judge, and
 enlarginge, or sufferinge to be at libertie, your Barrabasses guiltie of all crime,
 Caron and his adherents) pilladginge honest and devout persons in that unseason-
 able hower, upon pretence of rescuinge the godly pledges of their respectiue

Math. 26.
 Luc. 22.
 Marc. 24.
 Joan. 18.

1649. consciences. Those prisoners continued 48 howers in the castle without meate, drinke, light, or bedinge, not as much as one strawe betweene them and the planks, is this to mantaine religion? is this to be a pious Catholicke and a zealous Christian? Will any one perswade me that Castlhaven, Caron, and eache theire adherents, abettors, ayders, and asistants are not excommunicated by Bulla Cænæ Domini, though thither unto not spoken off by any other of the like kinde? noe verily; therfore enforme yourself herof no. 485; within 8 daies they banish all those fryers from the towne and convent, but such as obeyed the Ante-Comissarie Caron were admitted to continue; the laycall goverment did institut Fr. Peter Walsh, an apostat fryer, præses or guardian of the monesterie, insteede of Fr. Patricke Brenan, with what authoritie (if Catholicks they weare) the world may beare testimonie.

540. About this very time some menaces and threats came to Fr. Paule Geoghegan, residing then in Stradbally in Leyse, that he would be banished from thence, and the same be given to one Frances Cosby, an athieste, to whom before Generall Neylls cominge to them parts it did belonge; wherfore this Fr. Geoghegan did write a letter to Fr. Patricke Brenan, præses of Kilkeny, Franciscan Abby, as aforesaid, that he should move this busines to some of his freinds the comissioners intrusted, as Plunkett and Terlagh Oneyll, and cause them stopp such proceedings in the boode as contrarie to theire covenant alreadie with Ormond, for if they gave way to one such to be don, they would give way to many other of the like qualitie for the future. The said letter thus writen and remitted to Kilkeny, Fr. Patricke was then with his obedient fryers comitted (as above mentioned), but the letter came to Carons hands, whoe comaunded one of his retrograde fryers (by name Fr. Iohn Barnewall, brother to Sir Richard Barnewall) to write answeare unto the said Geoghegan, which is as followeth:

Carons
answeare to
Geoghegan by
Iohn Barnewall.
Reverend Father, Yours, Reverend Father Comissarie opened, and because Fr. Preses is in restraints for his disobedience, and for a mutine raised by him in towne last Twesdaie, he desired me to answeare you, viz., that he will doe what lyeth in him for the preservation of the monesterie; certaine it is that the precincts are ours by the peace, soe you be conformable to the goverment, and if in this you have halted, it is to be feared wee will loose all. Farewell. Kilkeny, the 9th of June, 1649. Your servant, Iohn Barnewall.

For the R^d. Father Paule Geoghegan at Stradbally these, etc^a.

541. How malicious they thinke to colour this abominable acte, givinge it such a tinckture, that he was in restraints for a mutinie raised by him in towne, which was as false as Judas, but the uproare began, as My Lord Archbishope did as formerlie certifie, which, how farr from the truth theire assertion be you may without partialitie guesse, this Bornewall knewe verie well what this fryer Geoghegan was, how inclined and how halted from theire principles and goverment, as ever yett houldinge the negative of theire proceedings, and would admitte none of the contrarie sense to the exercise of his function, as he well knewe, when he said at the sledge of Athy, that some of those fryers that weare conformable to the goverment should be sent unto Stradbally, and those Geoghegans there to be

Barnwalls
false intima-
tion of mutinie.

transmitted prisoners to Kilkeny. Jam novit, what he was, givinge this irreligious 1649.
doome, and now speakes of haltinge here from the goverment, a phrase newly His collo-
acquired by the introduction of Ormonds peace, as not to swarve from that guinge, halte-
parliament or Presbyterian styrynge. Those Geoghegans neuer after wrote a inge.

Caron began now to vissitt in person some of the convents of Linster and Monster, 542.
whoe went to Waterforde; all the fryers there, except Sharpe and Anthony The refractorie
Purcell, submitted unto him; Wexford allsoe submitted, but Iniskorty, wheare Fr. fryers.
Bonaventura Melaghlin was guardian, was mightie constante, wheare he founde noe
semblance of obedience, nor the compliance of anything he desired; nay, nor soe
much satisfaction as to admitt him for one meale to the comunitie, rather like a
foreigner in camera hospitum, as not havinge the comaunde of the civill sworde,
as prompte there as else where, for Sir Edmond Buttler the governor, an under-
standinge gentleman, loved well this guardian, and was not averse unto his cause,
winked at the busines, soe that Caron was disapointed of his stickler, the inter-
position of the civill magistrats authoritie, whee there not thrivinge, went with his
apostat fryers, Christopher Plunkett, Richard Synott, Symon Wafer, and Anthony
Ferbege, went to Rosse, wheare Fr. Iames Tyrrell was guardian, but maugre his
regular and zealous applications many of his comunitie was refractorie. As Fr.
John Pary an Englishman, Fr. Iohn Flatisbury, Fr. Patricke Dormer, Fr. Joseph
Buttler, and others, but noe obedience was yelded him by Fr. Guardian, by Fr.
Felix Dempsie, Fr. Iohn Brimingham, Anthony Eustace, Richard Kevanagh,
Thomas Mooney, and others, now possessed of the constancie of the one, and in-
stabilitie of the other, turned backe to Kilkeny and caused severall warrants to
issue from the temporall magistrat against those fryers as weare disobedient (as he
tearmed it), and specially against Fr. James Tyrrell and Bonaventura O'Mellaghlin,
to their exceedinge laude and praise for their sufferance for justice: beati qui
patiuntur propter justitiam, etc., in obedience to our Saviours admonition, si perse-
quentur vos in una civitate fugite in aliam. Both went away to the intermedium-
chapter of their Order in Cavan, the 3 of Feb. held, 1649, accordinge the new
computation), wheare the said Fr. Tyrrell was instituted Guardian of Ballinasagarte,
in the countie of Longforde, and Fr. Francis Fox subrogated in his place in Rosse,
but Fr. Bonaventura O'Mellaghlin did continue his owne of Iniskortie untill the
future Provinciaall Chapter, as hereafter will apeere. Caron allsoe did send sum-
mons to many guardians and other members of the province to apeere in Kilkeny
upon a peremptorie day to hould a chapter there himself, without dependencie of
either, provinciaall, province, lawes, or ordinances of the order in that behalfe to
the contrarie, as may be obseyable in all the actuall practice of the respectue
regular Orders these many hundred yeares, where he deposed the provinciaall, and
guardians, by the onely vote of his apostat fryers asistant in that conventicle, and
zeudo-chapter instituted others of his proper graine, but left the province without
either provinciaall or vicar, contrarie to the holy institution of the Seraphicall
Patriarch S. Francis. Upon intimation herof, the provinciaall with his diffinitors did
issue unto publicke viewe severall authenticke instruments against severall apostat
fryers, characteringe them with the same denomination as a badge of their

Edmond
Buttlers be-
haviour.
Caron goes to
Rosse.

Fr. Iames
Tyrrell and
Fr. Bona-
ventura O'Mel-
laghlins
constancie.

What other
fryers obedient,

and others dis-
obedient?

Math. 5.

Math. 10.

Carons Zeudo-
Chapter.

1649. irregularitie, whose names are as followeth :—Fr. Peter Walsh, Fr. Valentine Browne, Fr. George Dillon, Fr. Patricke Plunkett, Fr. Christopher Plunkett, Fr. Anthony Gernon, Fr. Anthony Sweetman, Fr. Iohn Dormer, and severall others. Amonge the rest of instruments that came to my hands, the ensuinge was one against Anthony Sweetman, Christopher Plunkett, and Iohn Dormer, in hæc verba :
543. Reverendus Pater Fr. Antonius Sweetman, similiter ex provincia fugitiuus, hucusque contra expressum mandatum Patris nostri Reverendissimi, extra provinciam vagabundus per annum et medium, distinctionis promotor et author, ac propterea excommunicationis sententiam mandatus, scandalose et erronee contra summum Pontificem, Domum[que] Austriacam publice prædicans. Reverendus Pater Fr. Christophorus Plunketus, seditionem fovens in clero et populo, religiosos inter se, et religiosas inter se, et vtrosque inter se, varijs et miris modis, inquietans, dividens, ac suis factionibus distrahens, et nostris in contrarium mandatis pertinaciter inobediens, vagabundus extra omnem conventum degens in habitu sæculari, sollicitans hæreticos ut potestate seculari et manu forte, irritentur acta capituli intermedij, et Reverendus Administrator Pater Provincialis declaretur rebellis. Reverendus Pater Fr. Joanes Dormer scandalose et injuriose ex solempni pulpito detrahens nominatim aliquibus ex præcipuis Regni proceribus, sæpius admonitus, et per nos mandatus ut desisteret, adhuc in sua contumacia perseverans, et specialiter sæuiens in publicis suis concionibus, contra Excellentissimum Dominum Eugenium Oneyll, aliosque magnates Ecclesiæ et Illustrissimo Domino Nuncio adherentes; Ad quos omnes universim et sigillatim ad singulas nostras censuras (prout præfertur) extendi et valere volumus. Mandamus insuper omnibus guardianis nobis subditis, præsidibus, ac conventuum nostrorum vicarijs, ut in suis comunitatibus publice legi procurent, easque sic lectas ad proximiorum conventum infra 24 horas a receptione harum mittant sub pœna indignationis nostræ et pœnæ. Datum in loco nostri refugij, die 22 mensis Junij, 1649.
- Fr. Franciscus Ferrall, Lector
Theolog. Jubilatus et Diffinitor.
Fr. Petrus Thiernanus, Diffinitor.
Fr. Bonaventura Connus, Diffinitor.
Fr. Joanes Mollachan, Diffinitor.
- Fr. Thomas Makyernan, Minister Provincialis.
Fr. Mauritius Vltanus, Primus Provinciæ Præses.
Fr. Antonius Docharty, Prouinciæ Præses et Custos.
Fr. Bernardus Connus, Ex-Provincialis.
- Hæc est copia vera concordans verbo ad verbum cum originali: Ita testor Fr. Malachias Corcran, secretarius.
544. Severall other instruments to this tune were issued against those and others of this irregular crue, but to noe purpose; the former may searve your turne for an exemplare of the rest, and confirmation of what wee against them doe handle, wherin you may conceive two things in Fr. Thomas Makyernan, Provinciall; the one that he was as constant as any man might be, in the mantaininge of the just rights of his order, province, and wholesome members therof; the other that he was as dilligent a man as you could cast eye upon, and to bringe his just designe to passe, to its wished lustre, spared neither labour, danger, or travayle, how painfull soever. All the fault I found in this good man was, that his over much humilitie in the above mentioned proposalls to Caron, least any did suspecte to derogat therby
- Thomas Makyernans behaviour.

from proper authoritie, though his intentions weare faire and peacable, ne tanta sit humilitas, ut vituperetur autoritas: the other his too much lenitie towards those withered members, as not rescendinge them accordinge theire deserts from the Order, notwithstandinge his meaninge was religious, more prone to humanitie then rigor, respondere stulto juxta stultitiam suam ne sibi sapiens videatur is not amisse, this gaue courage to poore men to run a desperat course, conforminge themselves to the iniquitie of the times, as beinge sure of intertainment from their charitable father, like the prodigall child in the ghospell, though said not ex corde peccavi, as he (as hereafter will apeare) to whom may truely quadrat this of the Holy Ghoste, homo apostata, vir inutilis, graditur ore peruerso, annuit oculis, terit pede; digito loquitur, pravo corde machinatur malum, et omni tempore jurgia seminat, huic extemplo veniet perditio sua, et subito conteretur, nec habebit ultra medicinam, whom wee leave for a time, workinge their proper future confusion against lawfull obedience, and turne now to My Lord Leutenant Ormond, at Finglasse campe neere Dublin.

1649.
S. Aug.

Proverb. c. 6.

CHAPTER VII.

NOTHINGE rideth on swifter wings then fame and oportunitie; here is onely the difference, that flyeth still forwarde, this backwarde, she must therefore be taken by the fore-tope, at the verie instant of her cominge, for occasion past is irrecoverable, and the losse by slackinge it irreparable; fortune seemes after to crosse all a mans action, and to be true handemaide to noe mistris but occasion.

545.
Livi. lib. 25.
Salust. Cat.
Polyb. l. 8.
Auson. 87.

Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum :
Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo.

Virg.

If Ormond did not delay the service in takinge petty garrisons in the Queens countie, Kildare, Wickloe, and the countie of Dublin, and marched without interruption or stay towards Dublin, and leaguer it closly neere home (as was thought his aime had beene), as sure as death might carie it. What should soe braue an armie as his was feare soe beggerly a partie (in all not passinge a 1000 men) as those garrisons? though they came in one and the same bodie, by his said delayes, and whiles augmented the enemie number gaue him time to send unto England for succours, and weakened too much his proper partie, leavinge garrisons wherever he went, without the least occasion, and must allsoe leaue 2000 men to waite upon Bryan Mc Phelim by the fore slackinge this occasion, he founde afterwarde this impresse impossible, which but one month formerly had been most fayseble, but, post est occasio calua, see what doe men loose by the slackinge of oportunitie is irreparable. Sir Robert Thalbot was an earnest suiter to Ormonde that he should send a partie to Glanmalury, to route Bryan Mc Phelim and his adherents, he undertakinge by 1500 of both horse and foote to bringe all the rebells there (as he tearmed them) to naught and destruction. This sett number was selected and appointed to goe alonge with Sir Robert Thalbot, marchinge therfore towards the

Noe souldier
or else—

Adagium
Erasmi.

546.
Sir Robert
Thalbot
comanded
with 1500 men
to the Glan-
malure.

1649. some satisfaction to the gentry by way of muster, did invite some Tories and straglinge companies; amonge the rest was this Reyly, whoe from the first day that he inlisted himself in that regiment followed his wonted course, goinge a particular score, pilladginge any where he went, though dependinge on the fore-said regiment, never adhered unto them, his name was publickly characted for such, he disclaimes his right and dependencie in the said regiment, and inlisted himself under the comaunde of Colonell Grace, but there neither used any reformation (though one of the best captains for service, when he pleased), and could never be brought to any martiall civilitie; severall complaints apeeringe against him, not to be under the lawe mercie, did run away from his colours to his owne native countrie, where he acts many madd pranks against both freinde and foe; this partie was trusted with the forte of Ballisonan, and yelded the same unto the enemye, as aforesaid. Mac Thomas deposed of his comissarishipe, his onely house left in all the countrie to the enemye, waites on it, where wee leaue him for a while, and turne to Ormond.
- Reyllies be-
haviour.
554. When Drogheda was taken, or yelded to Insichuyne, Ormond comaunded the newe appointed governor therof, under paine of death, to admitte noe prieste or fryer either to inhabitt or celebrate masse there, wherby not onely the priests were inhibited to come ofnewe unto the towne, but such as there lurked in the Parliament time were banished thence. This extravagant proceedings cominge to the eares of the Catholicke comaunders in the campe of Finglasse, were mightie pensive and offended, dubious what best to doe in such extremities, noe article of their peace now complied with, cursinge the contrivers and themselves for their facile belife, all that braue armie at the cost and charges of the Catholicks, and themselves the stronger partie there, resolved to deserte the intended service and run a particular score, if satisfaction they had not receaved for those abuses. This matter cominge to Ormonds eares (habituated by many former acts of that nature), patron and actor of the former by order, did summon a councill of warr, declared against the said prejudicious order, alleadginge it to be a meere mistake, and promised faithfully all redresse. The Irish, verie easie to be perswaded (though every day they sawe his Excellencie kept noe touche), were herby satisfied.
- Ormonds
breache of
covenant.
555. Wee made mention (no. 491) of one George Montroe, by Ormond apointed Colonell and knighted, was now comaunded with the matter of 3 regiments of redshankes and others through Conaght to the north of Irelande to win London Dery, this onely, Carrigfergus and Iniskillin in all Ireland against Ormond. This Montroe arrivinge to the north, raised the Scotts in armes. Iniskillin agreeed that halfe garrison from him and another from Sir William Coles should be admitted, which don, Sir George Montroe marched towards London Dery, and sitts before it. Sir Charles Coote, for the Parliament, desperate of any relife, did not well know what best to doe, obsearvinge the inconstancie of Ormond, had noe stamocke to yeld to such a man, whom he knewe not to be sutable to his promise in his actions (ait latro, ad latronem), or agreeable to his covenant, and callinge to minde how Generall Neyll was justly and highly discontented for the afronte receaued by Ormond and Insichuyne, wherfore addressed himself unto him for relife, promisinge him a greate quantitie of amunition and amasse of money, which the
- His false
declaration.
- Sir George
Montroe raised
the Scotts.
- Sir William
Coles condi-
tions with Sir
George for
Iniskillin.
- Sir Charles
Cootes motion
for Generall
Neyll.

Generall mightie wanted for that present, and knowinge noe other waie to come by 1649.
it, as faylinge in his former designe.

By Ormond and Insichuynes perfidious breache of both loyaltie and couenant 556.
with the Catholicke Generall, wherby became in a high degree became [*sic*] looser (as
above mentioned), was brought to a sadd condition, all his men that surviuvd him
were soe discouraged that they scattered here and there from theire colours, and
himself stickinge onely to 500 men, the want of meanes and amunition troubled
them verie much, noe way was thought possible for the recooper therof; to joine
now with Ormond in such a poore condition was foolerie, and noe lesse then to
expose his necke to the ax-man, havinge soe recent a touch of his perfidie alreadie;
to hould out against him (at whose becke the whole kingdome did now nodd) with
soe smale a partie and soe ill furnished, was noe lesse then desperation; revolvinge
those extreamities, like a wise generall, issued a proclamation in both campe and
country that by such a day would marche to a riche and plentifull countrie, to
Tyrconnell. His countriemen, verie apt for an expedition how dangerous soever of
such graine, pursuant to the said proclamation, marched by degrees to giue a shewe
of compliyanee; every day and night both number and courage mightie increased,
neither freinde or foe perceaved any the leaste semblance of discouragment or feare
in this noble warriors cariage, rather the contrarie, perswadinge still his souldiers
to be animated, and that they now went to salute a weake enemye, distracted by
rent and division, some joininge to Ormonde, others to Coote, would be fourthwith
terrified by theire onely name, as havinge a deadlie tryall alreadie of theire warr-
licke and manly behavior; you are, said he, to goe to a plentifull contrie, wheare
you may refreshe yourselues at ease after your longe suffrings of hunger and
penurie, and be able to gett out your kinsmen and fellowe souldiers, either by
exchange or ransome, treacherously taken by Insichuyne; this and such other to
this purpose were his intimations, though well apprehended the danger, wherby
gathered a greate armie unto a bodie, and marched to Tyrconnell.

The poore
condition of
Generall
Neyll.

His polliticke
application.

Sir Charles Coote, enformed of his marche in that posture, and apprehendinge his 557.
just discontent with Ormond, did send him message, as aforesaid; receavinge which
he thought how indulgent God did dispose of the busines, that in recompence of
his money and amunition, as aforesaid, miscaried, was now beyonde all expectation
provided of another; upon the first sight herof was some what scrupulous to accepte
of any thinge from such an enemye, but sensible of the wronge receaved by Ormond,
the mightie scarcitie he endured of powder and shott, destitute of all humane
way to come by it, and allsoe deeply apprehendinge in case London-Dery was sub-
mitted to Ormonde, that it did prove of verie dangerous consequence for him, and
in a maner impossible to subsiste. Discoursinge on these solide and pregnable
reasons and grounds, accepted the condition, promised relife, marched fourthwith
directly towards Sir George Montroe, untill within one daies marche to the siedge,
whoe now sooner had intelligence therof, then raised his leaguer, and would not
abide the arrivall of that warriour (as alreadie practised in other Montroes irre-
coverable foyle), to the exceedinge greate joy of Coote, as obliged to surrender the
towne within a peremptorie time, if not by that reliued. The Generall did en-
campe neere home; Sir Charles Coote came to him, with all the freindly ostentation

Cootes
message.

Generall
Neylls discus-
sions and
grounds.

Accepted the
invitation.

The Scotts
raised the
siedge.

1649.
Cootes friendly
intertainment.
Generall
Neyll poysoned
by Coote.

possible and invited him and his mayor officers to the towne, where he was served with extraordinarie plentie and curiositie, complied with him in all other promised obligation with a surplusse of proper liberalitie; but, alas, was surely bruted that amonge the rest of his servinge, a cupp of poyson was ministered unto him of lingringe operation, by litle and litle peeninge him out (and though fourthwith marched backe unto the countie of Cavan with his armie, was not well), his haire and nailes fallinge off by degrees; and though his then phisitians usinge their science and arte to heale him as labouringe with the gowte (for his Doctor Owen O'Sheell was not at that present in place, as the fate of both required), but to noe purpose, for never after was his owne man, as hereafter, more at large.

CHAPTER IX.

558.
Tacit. An. l. 8.
Plaut.
Apop.
Plat.

A MANS eye and his honor are two tender parts, the one cannott abide the rough touch of the hand, nor the other endure the smarte jerke of the tongue. As therefore by the owners they are carefully presearved, soe by others that deale with them they should be tenderly used. Such pregnant witts, as had rather loose their friende then their ieste, must learne the lesson which is taught fresh souldiers, to take heede, while they leuell and discharge upon others, they lye not soe open that they be hitt themselves; for as witty speeches loose their relish when they are ouerseasoned with the sowre sawce of reprehension, soe when they come from him upon whom they may be justly retorted, by way of reerimination, they are most odious:

Horat.
Sat.

Cum tua pervideas oculis mala lippus inunctis
Cur in amicorum vitij tam cernis acutum?

Theire sense of
Generall
Neylle.

Many of Ormonds partie founde faulte with Generall Neylle for giuinge this relife to Sir Charles Coote, for, said those braue censures, he did this against his oath of association, and infused this unto all mens eares, to render him odious in the comon sense, givinge hereby a rough touch unto his honor, and a smart jerke unto his reputation. But those linxs did not obsearue the former grounds he had for it, and the recente woundes wherwith he bled, receaued from a cruell and perjurous enemy, nor had these censurists any such motiues for the calefication of severall proper acts of higher concernment for the publicke, worste character in the sense of any indifferent judge, and, ex diametro, contrarie to their oath of union, association, and confederacie, too often sworne and perjorously obsearved, whoe should learne that lesson of freshe souldiers, not to leuell soe high at others that they open themselves to all danger, as justly to be retorted on themselves by way of reerimination, though they make other men beleieve (like Pharisaycall broode) their owne innocencie to be such as not carpable [*sic*] of the least blemish or error, which they will neuer be able to justifie, before God or the world, onely, like their former exemplar, they endeaour to giue it the best tincture they may in conterfeite colours; to cry, however, firste.

Whoe are
guiltie them-
selues of all
crime.

CHAPTER X.

1649.

SUCH are the chaunges and chaunces of mans life, as are the casts at dice, good and badd. A good chaunce may be marred with over sight, and an ill one helped by good play; soe must a prudent and well advised prince take hide that he governe his good fortune, and if the necessities of the times threaten warr and ruyne upon him, lett him seeke to avoyde them by all the meanes he possibly may.

559.
Terent.
Plat. de Rep.
l. 10.
Tacit. An. 1. 2.

Ante equidem summa de re statuisset, Latini,
Et vellem, et fuerat melius; non tempore tali
Cogere concilium, cum muros adsidet hostis.

Virg. Eneid.
l. 11.

In Finglasse campe were the best gamsters in the kingdome, but upon coginge karde, now must play upon dice; they cast at pleasure; the stake is greate, noe lesse then a whole kingdome, but upon presumption of notion and masterie therin doe marr all the game both future, past, and present. Colonell Jones, governor of Dublin, the other veyinge gamster, played his parte very well hitherto, nor durst now venture all his stake at one cast with umpires and indifferent judges to see faire play exhibitted, many bickerings hapened betweene those two all the while, and not easie to giue sentence which best behaued himself, this prudent governor, obsearvinge the unskillfull cunctation of his antigoniste, did send unto England for relife, which with all possible speede was to be sent under the comaunde of My Lord Crumwell, the terror of England and chiefe champion of the Parliament. In the interime the assaylants did cutt shorte the cittie of the water courses runinge unto theire brookes and peepes, wherby mightie discouraged, but the prudent governor, like a wise comaunder, nothinge dismayed, did send his corne to Walls to be greened and made breade (as wantinge fewell allsoe in Dublin), which returned safe, with the improvment of as much coales as were necessarie for the cittizens fringe; this he had don, from time to time, duringe the said extreamitie, wherby both people and militia did abounde with plentie of all things necessarie, and thus his fortune was presearved, his bad and dangerous game, by good play was brought to a hopfull issue.

Good and bad
gamsters.

Colonell Jones
wisly behaued
himself.

Proued a good
gamster.

Ormonde and his armie on the other side (as a bad gamster and worste comaunder), spendinge his time in Finglasse, with too much confidence in the strenght of his armie, viewinge on the brauerie of his cavalliers, eache petty captain walkinge in the campe, more like a comedian actinge a tragedie on a stage with his borrowed feathers, or self-conceited-bank-rout-courtier shewinge his trashes, with many unnaturall and conterfeite motions, more like a civill marte of Indian wares then a martiall theater of warrlicke discipline. There he kept his Courte of judicature, all the affaires of Ireland (how transcendent soever) were don by paper petitions, his Councell or Comissioners of trust had nothinge to doe in Kilkenny, other then what references he sent them. By this meanes the fame of Finglasse was spreade over greate parte of Europe, soe that the Parliament of England had sufficient time to gather and send an armie (though noe greute neede, to relive Dublin), for confidently this noble Generall did not aime at Dublin by

560.

The campe of
Finglasse his
character.

1649. these tergiversations, rather at the distruction of the Catholicks his abettors (as
Ormonds the event will soone prove), for if he did fall upon Dublin with celeritie, when
intent. arrived to Finglasse 9 or 10 weekes now paste, whoe doubts but might carie it?
All his objecte in this busines was the exposinge of the Irish to the sworde, which
perishing, had his intent.

CHAPTER XI.

561. THE vaine glorious man looks upon himself through a false glasse which makes
Ex. Menand. euery thing seeme fairer and greater then it is. And this flatuous humor filleth
Tacit. An. l. 3. the emptie blader of his vaste thoughts with soe much winde of pride, as he pre-
Prob. sumes that fortune, whoe hath once been his good mistris, should euer be his
Curt. l. 6. handmaide. But the wings of self-conceite wherwith he towreth soe high are
Senec. Theb. patched of borrowed feathers, and these impd in the softe wax of uncertaine hope,
Justin l. 31. which upon the encounter of euery smale heate of danger will melte and fayle
him, for fortune deales with him as the eagle with the tortoise. Shee caries him
the higher, that shee may breake him the easilier. And therefore a prince in
middest of his prosperitie must thinke of the worlds instabilitie, and that fortune
is constant in nothings but inconstancie.

Ovid. Met. 6. Sum felix. Quis enim neget hoc? felixque manebo.
Hoc quoque quis dubitet? tutam me copia fecit.
Major sum, quam cui possit Fortuna nocere.

Ormonds My Lord of Ormond may call himself the sonne of fortune, brought all his designes
smilinge hitherunto to passe, havinge kinge, parliament (I meane the Presbyterians),
fortune. covenantiers, and Irish at comaunde; but chaunginge his text at the surrender of
Dublin, indearinge himself to the parliament, notwithstandinge all which, under-
mined the royall brest of her Majestie and prince, that they apointe him Lord
Leutenant of Ireland; now all Ireland doe flocke unto him as to an oracle,
rendringe him obeysance, except 3: Generall Neylle, Jones, and Coote; all the
His insupport- townes, citties, and fortes of the whole kingdome (except Dublin and Londondery)
able employ- are at his becke, which doe cause him to conceaue soe high of himself that he
ment. esteemeth fortune, not his mother, but handmaide; but the wings wherwith he
towreth soe high are of borrowed feathers, lookinge (but never reflectinge) on
himself through that false glasse, judginge all things to be fairer and really better,
then certainly they are, this [*sic*] his prounde and flatuous humor did fill the emptie
bladder of his vaste thoughts, that he will admitte (I doe not meane a rivall) noe
advice of either particular souldier, or councell of warr (though noe souldier
himself), and employed in the managment of all civill affaires of the kingdome
alone, and correspondencie with both domesticke and foraigners, whoe behaved
himself more like a tyrant monarche then any way a subjecte, he presumed unto
his onely capacitie, what the best witts of twentie could not accomlishe.

562. But now drawinge to the period of soe smilinge a fortune, and upon the last
tripp to shake hands with its frowninge countenance, he comaundes his brave and

florishinge armie to be devided in foure or 5 heades, and in that posture to leager the citty of Dublin (neuer dreaminge that some horse relife had alreadie arrived thither from England, under the comaunde of Comissarie Iohn Reynolds, which was the fittest oportunitie to thrive in his former designe, to expose his Irish armie to slaughter and the whole kingdome to destruction), one parte consistinge of 3 regiments, with the ordinance to Castlknocke, 3 miles from Dublin, Easte, the greate riuer Liffy, betweene them and the citty. Another partie he comaunded to stande at Clontarfe, two greate miles from Dublin, north, a branche of the sea betweene. Another partie at Kilmoynome, a mile from Dublin, west, and by east. The 4th, neere S. Stephens Greene, neere home, but very weake, at the most a 1000 men, under the comaunde and leadinge of Major Charles Geoghegan. All the horse were in a braue field neere this partie, if (by a privat comaunde not obliged to the contrarie), might very well relieue them. I do beleue that noe man of any judgment will denie this posture of Dublin siedge to be treacherous, for you must admitt (I speake to souldiers and schollers, whoe I supose to be capable of this reason) that any man besieginge a towne or cittie, wherin is a stronge partie, that he must of necessitie place such a partie at euerie gate, where he beleeveth the enemye did issue, as did master the whole force of the besieged, or his armie to be soe seated, that eache partie may relive the other without danger or delaye; but the assaylants armie, not soe numerous, and the deffendants stronge, and with many waies to issue, then to make his towers upon some of the said passages, and plant his ordinance there to bater the towne, which a smale partie will doe, and the maine of his armie to be for their saftie together, as well to oppose the enemye incursion that way as to giue an assaulte. But to place this armie as our present Generall, My Lord of Ormond, have don, soe farr distant from both towne, service, and others relife as it was impossible for any one partie there to giue the least succour unto the other, without goinge two miles about, others six, and others 5, beside the horse that could easily giue relife unto Major Geoghegan (whoe never offered to doe it), exposed to the blunt of all hazard, without either sconce or tower, other then what the poore musketires made, when thither comaunded, noe such prevention was made by this our Generall, therfore either a foole or a traytor.

But the warie enemye, the watchfull and carefull eye of Colonell Jones, obsearvinge his advantage (by the said division and composure of that armie), like a wise comaunder, takes the occasion by the fore topp, comaunded 500 or 600 horse, as they were, with all celeritie towards that partie in S. Stephens Greene, whoe courageously defended the passage for halfe an hower, the matter of 2000 horse lyinge in the same field, neuer offered to relive those, untill they were broken upon, the passage won, the enemye horse ran to Ormonds campe, himself beinge of the verie first that ran away, and by his example and invitation all the rest followed, the enemye makinge havocke of all that opposed, whoe were verie fewe, for such as were of the faction, either presently fled away or became of the enemye partie in present action, as the most parte of Insichuynes men did, except Sir Wm. Vaghan, Comissarie-generall of the horse (as above mentioned), who was killed there. But O marvaylous proceedings, destinie, or self treason inventinge, such as were 4 or 5

1649.

Now begins
his frowninge
fortune.The division
of his armie.Major Charles
Geoghegan.The senselesse
or treacherous
siedge of
Dublin.Militarie
advice.Foolerie or
treason.

563.

Jones watch-
full eye.Geoghegans
re-istance, and
not reliued.Ormond fled
away.

Vaghan killed.

1649.
Strango
cowardize.

500 horse
victors.

What Insi-
chuynes partie
had don?

Captain
Richard
Geoghegan
killed.

The Earl of
Fingalle,
prisoner, and
died in
durance.
A rich campe.

564.
The defeate, 2
Augt. 1649.

The intention
of Ormonde
and his partie
toward the
clergie.

An English
captain's
intimation.

miles distante from this enemies partie, a maine riuer or a nuke of the sea, or both betweene them; upon the verie first confused sight of their glisteringe swordes, fled away in a routing maner nemine persequente, left their ordinance, wagons, amunition, and all the had to the enemies mercie, or rather countrie boores discretione, soe that in lesse then two howers never a man of Ormonds partie was founde neere Dublin, other then such as were killed, taken prisoners or became of the enemies partie, as aforsaid, this greate victorie was won by 500 horse onely, and there greate Ormonds swaye was ad nihil deduced. 3 or 4 regiments did marche to Drogheda to save their lives from this diluge (as they tearmed it), the rest in all hast galloped towards Kilkeny; Ormond was that night in Katarlagh, the matter of 30 mile, others in Kilkeny upwards of 40 (Insichuynes partie). Such as did not revoulte, pilladginge shuttlers and others, their owne suposed partie and comrades in the way, as they came home, verie fewe opposed, beside that partie at S. Stephens Greene and the matter of two troupes with Sir Wm. Vaghan, wherof were the most parte killed, and Captain Richard Geoghegan, spoken off no. 353, heire of Moycashell, was there killed, some prisoners were taken, and specially Luke Plunkett, Earle of Fingalle, and Colonell, whose soone after died in restraunte, as was bruted, of meere melancholy and grieve, that he was ever of Ormonds partie. Absolutly this was the richest campe that had been won in any these 3 kingdomes since those warrs, or before in our memorie, a world of amunition, gould, silver, plate, jewells, tents, armes, ordinance, all kinde of marchant ware, horses, rich furnitures, all kinde of shuttlers, with any kinde of provision, and in greate abundance; by this Colonell Jones was both victorious, rich, and fortunate, that a man may lawfully say that fortune was his handmaide, of three rich fields that were won in Ireland, Benborbe, Linchill, and this he had two, but none fought as Benborbe.

This defeate was giuen Ormonde the second of August (a greate jubeley daie in the Order of S. Francis, called Portiuncula), 1649. And noe mervayle that such a disaster did hapen unto Ormond and his partie for their impious and ungodly intentions, which was in case they tooke Dublin, all Ireland then in his owne hands, to banish all the Romaine clergie, and specially all the regulars (notwithstandinge his publicke covenant to the contrarie, upon the settlment), this was not soe privat, but thowsands knewe of it, as well Catholicks as Puritants and Protestants. Amonge the rest a captain of Insichuynes partie, a Protestant, arrivinge to Athy the next day, after the said defeate, there in towne, lightinge from his horse in the streete, it hapened that one Father Thomas Brimingham, prior of S. Dominicks Order in that same towne, was walkinge in his regular weede in the markett yarde, this captain seeinge him, enformed what he was, directed his course towards him, and asked him whether he was a fryer, whose answered affirmative; then said the captain, did you here of our defeate in Dublin? Yes, sir, to my grieve, said the Fr. To your grieve, said the captain; by the livinge Lord, it was the best day for you that euer yett you enjoyed. By your favor, said the Fr., I doe scarce believe it. Beleeve it from me, said the captain, for I protest if we had the upper hand, and that Dublin were our owne, none of your ranke did liue in Ireland a month hence, and sayinge soe parted from the Father, this

much he said to that Father, in open streete, and to the hearinge of all people, 1649.
this was theire intente, and therefore thrived not.

Wee left Mc Thomas with some fewe horse and foote waitinge upon Ballisonan, 565.
as no. 552. Some flyinge reporte did breake out of the defeate of Dublin; Mac Thomas hitted upon one of the enemie spies acquainted with the partie, did sweare to hange him, unlesse he did enforme the garrison that the Parliament partie in Dublin was vanquished, and if other then this he enformed, he vowed to hange him the verie next time he chaunced unto his hands, the fellow enlarged upon those tearmes, arrivinge to the garrison, did acte his tragedie lively there accordinge instruction and covenant, cominge next morninge unto Mc Thomas, tould what he did, and in what disposition he left them, wherupon sent a trumpetter with the same lesson, offeringe quarter, and if they denied quarter, would be sure to haue none hereafter, that the armie marched from Dublin, after theire victorie there, and such a victorious armie would neuer giue quarter to such a pettie garrison onely now in the kingdome against them to any purpose, beleeevinge all to be true, as beinge the relation of theire proper spy, despairinge of any reliefe, if they held out, presently did capitulat, and within 12 howers surrendered the castle, but scarce were they out of possession and Mac Thomas within, when truely enformed how the matter stode, and were mightie sorie for what they had don, but noe remedie must packe away; by this stratageme Mac Thomas did recover his owne against the malice of Ormond, and he lost his owne but not his place of Ormonde, for though the encumbent Vaghan was killed, as aforesaid, Ormond herof certified, did not repaire the former injurie, don to both kingdome and Mac Thomas, rather comitte anewe such another, bestowinge the said office upon Sir Thomas Armstronge, another Puritant.

Mac Thomas
his politicke
invention.

Ballisonan
yelded.

Sir Thomas
Armstronge,
comissarie of
the horse.

The matter of 8 or 9 daies before this defeate, relation of some distemper in the garrisons of Monster, cominge to Insichuyne, residinge in the campe of Finglasse, wherupon poasted thither with all credible speede, with a 100 horse, which was severally constructed, to whose indiffinitue doome I leaue it, which was the reason that Insichuyne himself was not personally at the field then. Ormond and his dispersed troupes and companyes arrivinge to Kilkeny, did send his addresses post hast unto Insichuyne, with the intimation of the said fatale accedent, desiringe his speedie arrivall with all the forces he could make at present. The regiments above mentioned that marched to Drohedae, are Wareinge, Walls, Deuerauxe, Fingall, etc. Ormonde with some horse and foote marched from Kilkeny to Tighcrahan, summons all the run awaies to gather to him there unto a bodie. Insichuyne and his partie did followe, where they mette 6000 stronge, beside 3000 foote and 200 horse of the flower of Linster forces that were in Drohedae. Notwithstandinge did acte or attempte anythinge, other then poaste too and fro unto Kilkeny, neither demolished castles and drawe the garrisons to the field, to make a considerable bodie of his whole armie to oppose the landinge of Cromwell, whoe by this time was drawinge to shoare (wherof Ormond was not ignorant, and of his strenght by letters from England), whoe was onely 5000 men, and God wotte what they were; but Ormond was generall then of 9000 men at leaste, and if he were pleased to drawe the garrisons unto the field, and call his partie from the

566.

Insichuyne was
not at the
defeate of
Dublin.

Ormonds
randezvous at
Tighcrahan.

Ormonds armie
to noe purpose.

1649. north, might haue 20,000, and more then 30,000 if he did agree with Generall Neylle, all which willingly he omitted, as contrarie to his principles of destroyinge the kingdome and banish the nation; he acted nothinge in this extenuitie of affaires, but pamperinge himself in Tigherahan and in my lord of Clanmalyries house, sufferinge his licentious Puritanicall armie to range here and there at leasure, plunderinge and pilladginge where euer they went, without exception of sex, age, condition or qualitie, except noblemen, their copartners and warrantees.
- Feastinge himself.

CHAPTER XII.

567. Two things are necessarie for a merchant, money in the purse and credit on the burse: soe is nothinge more needfull for a prince then treasure and reputation. He that will phisically compounde a right dosis of these two simples, must for euery ounce of the former put in two of the later; soe shall he presearve in health and saftie the bodie of his state. But he were better to loose his reputation abroad, then not to hould it at home; for neither his maturity of judgment to undertake, nor his alacritie of spirit to execute, auale in the perfectinge of his intended and resolved interprise, where hee hath not a powerfull majestie to comaunde, and his officers an awfull readinesse to doe as they are comaunded.
- Valer. l. 2.
Dion. l. 42.
Polyb.
Curt. l. 3.
Cic. Offic. 2.
Arist. Pol. 5.

Severitas regem decet, majestatem præstat et dignitatem auget.

- Ormond and Cromwell, and their character.
- Wee have here offered unto our viewe two greates comaunders, the one a domesticke, the other a foraigner; the one noted at home and abroad with a swip-chemny-character of perfidie and impeachment of covenant, the other a powerfull majestie to comaunde, and an awfull contenaunce to execute; that, with plentie of treasure in his purse, but noe-credit on his burse: this, with both money and credit, wherby may rightly compounde that phisicall dosis with those simples, and soe presearve in health and saftie the bodie of that state comitted to his charge, wherof the other is voide, for neither his maturitie of judgment to undertake, nor his alacritie of spirit to execut, doe anythinge, either apeere or avayle in all his actions. Cromwell, now landed neere Dublin, was not idle, refreshed his men, weather beaten, and mustered others, used all kinde of warrlike preparation, for the space of verie neere 3 weekes; but our greates comaunders neuer stirred hand or foote to any purpose to oppose this foraigne invader, rather, by their behaviour ministered fewell unto his courage to doe service. Onely Ormond did send a poaste to Drogheda, that in case Cromwell came that way, to be of courage, and that he doubtlesse would relive them, which he never accomplished.
- Cromwell landed.
- The loytering behinde of Ormond.
568. Now My Lord Cromwell, drawinge to the field, made up the matter of 12,000 in all, hagg, ragge, and marched to Drogheda, with a braue traine of artillerie, gott from Ormond in the defeate of Rathmine, whether arrivinge, did fourthwith leaguer the towne, on the one side onely, planted his ordinance, did intende to win
- Cromwell 12,000 stronge.

it, or loose his whole armie in its pursuite, well knowinge that a busines well began is halfe ended, and that much imports to the hapie or disastrous issue of any affaire, what maner of intrance and begininge wee make, specially in the art of warr. The Irish, upon sight of his armie, was rather encouraged then any way daunted, made a sally and broke upon the forlorne hope, and retired to theire garrison without hurte, two or three seuerall daies continued in hott skirmishes, euer and then, the besieged had the honor, without proper losse, for the most parte, and choice of the Linster horse, with 3000 foote, as above mentioned, were there, too much confidinge in theire aproved dexteritie, the more ancient regiments in the three provinces, and allsoe havinge greate hopes in Ormonds promise to relive them, behaued themselves most couragious, though some were of Ormonds brest playenge the traytor, but to theire proper destruction. Ormond enformed, by a dayly poaste too and from desiringe relife what passed, none was graunted, his promise severally to the contrarie notwithstandinge, sure if he were soe inclined, he might very well giue it, he had as many men within the said towne and abroad (and might haue the double number if willinge, as aforesaid) as his aduersarie, and farr better appointed, if he did but stande upon the hill of Taragh, 8 miles from the enemye, he would not venture an assaulte against soe stronge a garrison, and in sight of soe great an armie theire abettors, or if he marched with his armie to Dublin, now naked and deserted, where he was 20 mile from the enemye, he would easilie divert him, and secure himself, or else, if he passed the north side of Drohedae, where was noe enemye at all, he might relive his partie and defende the towne in spite of all Cromwells forces, for the very situation of the place was his bulwarke, a maine river called Boyne, passinge through the towne, was betweene them and the enemye; but nothinge was don, with all the hurly burly of armies mustered and brought to a bodie towards Tighcrahan, onely were spectators of that bloudie tragedie.

1649.

Cromwells
principle.The courage of
the besieged.Ormond pro-
mised relife
could giue it
with advan-
tage, but neuer
did comply.See what he
might doe,
and did
nothinge.

Cromwell now possessed of Ormonds intent not to giue relife, comaunded a partie of horse and foote to the other side of the towne, on the north, as aforesaid, whom the defendants might undoe, and saue themselues, if they had the witt to doe it; but doe beleue, the excommunication wherof were obnoxious did soe blinde and dazle them, that they were incapable of deearninge anythinge to theire avayle, or that was honorable. The enemye discoveringe the now tepiditie of the defendants, is gaininge grounde by inces, drawes neere the wall, planted his ordinance there, makes a greate breache, an assaulte followes, braue resistance he had with great slaughter and beaten backe. When Cromwell sawe the losse and recoile of his men, cryinge out aloud, comaunded both horse and foote to inter the breache, which was now more feisible for horse then before, for the multitude of corps there miscaried did leuell the wall with the grounde insteade of fagotts. The defendants distracted by the largnesse of the towne, and the enemye on both sides, such as defended the said breache, seeinge the multitude of horse and foote inter the same, with rage and inhumaine crueltie, resolued never to giue quarter (accordinge orders) discouraged, gaue grounde, and turninge tayle, fled; as to the other parte of the towne over the bridge of the Boyne, wherupon was a drawinge bridge, had not the witt to drawe the same after, wherby might saue themselues for a longe time.

569.

1649 Wherefore the enemy followinge them very close, killinge euery mothers child he
 570. mette in his waye, some fewe of the defendants betooke themselves unto emptie ould
 Drohedae castles to passe that furie, all the towne, now runinge with bloude, was possessed of
 taken. the enemy. The mote, a very stronge place, unaccessible by assaulte or batterie,
 manned with 500 souldiers, havinge men, ordinance, provision, and amunition, in
 The moate abundance, was presently yelded, without ever capitulatinge for quarter, whose
 yelded. very comaunder, though an English man, was putt to the sworde; all—comaunder,
 officers, and souldiers—they hitted upon were slaughtered; neither age, sex, or
 qualitie spared, souldiers or inhabitants, such as retired to pettie castles starvinge
 Quarter not ob- some two daies, others 3 or 4 daies, gott out upon quarter of their liues, but not
 searued. obsearued; neuer a comaunder that I know escaped that furie, onely Captain
 Captain Teige Teige Conor, whoe was left amonge the deade (as of that ranke) with many deadly
 Conor es- wounds, and starcke naked, at night made a shift to come home by litle and litle,
 caped. and after recovered. Some of the comon souldiers (as was bruted) were sent to S.
 Christophers island. Amonge the rest that were killed here were two Captain
 Captain Mat- Geoghegans, Mathewe and Thomas, and of fryers were Fr. Dominicke Dillon and
 hewe and Fr. Richard Ouenton, both of the Order of S. Dominicke, greates antagonists of My
 Thomas Geo- lord Nuncios excommunication, and northeren people. Thus did Cromwell, to
 ghegan killed. the terrifyinge of all the kingdome, behaue himself in the gaininge of Drohedae,
 wherby very fewe durst now oppose him whereuer he marched after, both courage
 and resolution was taken from the loosinge side.

CHAPTER XIII.

571.

Bud. in l. post. THERE is nothinge more sacred or more religiously to be obsearued then the
 de orig. iuris. inviolable priuledge and freedome of ambassadors; for they sustaine in their
 Cic. Arusp. person as well the majestie of their master as the manage of his affaires. Noe
 Pasch. legat. prince therefore aught to arrest his ambassador, with whom he is not in open warr
 Tacit. Hist. l. and utter defiance, or hath had the like first offered to his owne. He that doth
 5. Liv. l. 2. otherwise violates all lawes of armes and nations, and leaues example of detesta-
 Cæs. Bell. tion rather then of imitation.
 Gal.

Sanctum et inviolabile apud omnes nationes legatorum nomen.

Sir Richard The 19th of October last, beinge 1648, a zeudo-Assembly, sittinge in Kilkeny,
 Blake, chaire- for the pacification now in execution with Ormonde, the then chayreman, Sir
 mans hereti- Richard Blake, in name of the said Assembly, did send My Lord Nuncio, then
 call letter to residinge in Galway, an authenticke instrument, containinge eighteen articles of
 My Lord treasone against him, comaundinge him either to quitt the kingdome, or menaced
 Nuncio. his Lordship with the rigor and extremitie of the kingdome lawe in that behalfe,
 parte wherof hapninge unto my hands, for your satisfaction, I doe here inserte,
 which is as followeth. They doe therefore lett your Lordship knowe, that there is
 a declaration and protestation in preparation against you, to be sent unto His
 Holinesse, importinge in parte the matters contained in the inclosed, wherof your

Lordship may be pleased to take notice, and prepare your self for journey to Rome, and defence against that charge there. And in the meantime, that your Lordship on the penaltie which may ensue by the lawes of God and nation, by yourself, or any of your instruments, directly or indirectly intermedde not, in any the affaires of this kingdome, etc. Receavinge those addresses, though of high concearnment, the honor of soe prime a man, soe highlie traduced by those cycophants, caried all those affronts patiently, many in the towne of Galway were for him, and many seduced by Fr. Valentine Browne and Fr. George Dillon, soe that all were divided pro et contra, which he like himself did indure, untill now, about the month of September, this yeare.

1649.

More rigorous
then Q.
Elizabethe.

Valentine
Browne and
George Dillon
apostats.

572.

Seeinge now soe powerfull an enemie as Cromwell to come unto a nation already rent and distracted, and with such a bloudie apologie of his future rage and crueltie, had noe greates hopes of his faithfull partie against soe many enemies euer to prevaile, and withall seuerally aduertised by both friende and foe to forsake the kingdome, for, by all induction, Ormond and his comissioners of truste (authors of the former letter and charge) would soone change habitation, quitt Linster, and come for their saftie to Conaght, and, by all liklihoode, seate themselves in Galway, which would prove too narrow for your Lordship and them, and assuredly are soe maliciously giuen, would here acte a tragicall scene, to the prejudice of both your person, dignitie, and function; their impetuous furie and revengfull disdain (in their opinion) cannoe otherwise be asswaded other then by outrageous injustice executed on the persone of your Lordship (though by the inviolable priviledge and freedome of all nations exempted, as carieinge in your person, as well the majestie of His Holinesse your master as the manage of his affaires in this kingdome), therefore, said this friende, you shall doe well to take the oportunitie of saftie, while it is offered, not to contest with fate, but give place to fortunes frownes, and suruive malice which canot longe subsiste, or its ministers be perpetuall. It is enough you haue a touche already in their former instruments what they intende, wherby you may giue them their proper character of violating all lawes, and leaues an example of detestation rather then imitation to posteritie.

A friendly
advise to My
Lord Nuncio.

The iniquitie
of those quon-
dam Catho-
licks.

My Lord Nuncio thus advised, not to prove prodigall of his proper beinge, began his journey for France, but before his departure left noe way unattempted for reconcilinge the nation, though all not of force, to bringe his said godlie designe to its wished end, neither the fearfull effects of all-thunderinge-excommunications, annexed to soe devillish an acte, as the banishinge of a Nuncio Apostolicke, and the extraordinary ambassador of a prince (against the publicke verditt of all knowne lawe and Cæsars doome), was grounde sufficient or motiue enough to bridle the revengfull malice and disdainfull injustice of those venomous vipers and pharisey-call Christians. But was an obseyable matter, and worthy all observation, by perpetuall characters to be moulded in the retentive memorie of never-failinge-posteritie, as a badge of unthankfulnesse, that the agents comaunded for Rome unto His Holinesse (as no. 334 touched), the Bishope of Fearnese and Nicholas Plunkett, there arriued and receaued with more then due honor, with presents and gifts, and the said Nicholas was by His Holinesse dubbed knight (as enformed by

573.

My Lord Nun-
cio tooke his
journey for
France.

The ingrati-
tude of those
two agents.

Sir Nicholas
Plunkett
knighted by
the Pope.

1649. My Lord Nuncio and other grave prelats testimoniall letters of censeritie (whoe assuredly was untill then worthy of any honorable favour and calefication), now almost a whole yeare in Ireland after their returne from thence, seeinge a newe forme of government by faction and treacherie introduced, contrarie unto that, their impowringe mission, and beside their oath and couenant, forgettinge both worth, honor, and obligation, in disrespekte of both Pope ad quem, and My Lord Nuncio and clergie, a quo missi, to giue this an accounte of the embashie never yett came to him, nor in due reuerence of that, as behooved, the prime styrrer of Peters name, nor to shewe themselves gratefull, for the honors both comon and particular receaved, though seuerally invited by My Lord Nuncios pressinge addresses to haue a conference with them, was neuer satisfied; but after his Lordship said departure, began their journey to kisse his Lordship's hands, as they gaue out, but arriued a daie or two after the faire was out. Lett any man judge whether those honorable persons did imitat the 9 leapers cured by our Saviour, or the Samaritan.
- Theire great ouersight.
- Luc. 17.

CHAPTER .XIV.

- 574.
- Plut. Apop.
Dion. l. 52.
Senec. Suas.
Salus: Jug.
Arist. Pol. 5,
Curt.
- SCILURUS shafts, while they were close bounde in a bundle, could neither be broken nor bowed, but taken one by one they were easilie knapped in sunder. Soe fareth it with the forces of an armie, whose saftie chieflie depends upon the unitie and mutuall conjunction of the inferiours with the superiours, and of these one with another. Wherefore, nothinge is more dangerous in the services of warr or peace then discorde and faction amonge the greate ones.
- Impius hæc tam culta noualia miles habebit?
Barbarus has segetes? en, quo discordia cives
Perduxit miseros!
- Virg. Ecl.
- Ormonde and Insichuine in Kilkeny. The behaviour of the armie.
- Droheda won and settled by Cromwell, did allsoe man Trim, and soe returned victorious to Dublin. But Ormond and Insichuine retired to Kilkeny, and their armie ranginge in the countrie, more like enemies then any way associats. But if Generall Neylle and Ormond were truelie united (as he was heartofore to the confederats) the game was not soe fowly played, nor the kingdome with one onely blowe vanquished; while this prime member and the rest did sticke together as a bundle or shafte, it could be hardly broken, but disunion and faction betweene these greate ones proved most fatall unto the service, as by sadd experience is now to Ormond himself fully knowne.
- 575.
- Plunkett and Barnwall to Generall Neylle.
- Wherefore with all credible speede Ormonde did dispatche Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Sir Richarde Barnwall to Generall Neylle to Vlster with instructions and power to treat and conclude upon his proper desire (which was that all the confederat Catholicks as behaued themselves contrary to My Lord Nuncios Excommunications would sue His Holinesse the Pope for an absolution, and submit themselves unto his doome, and reconcile the nation to the Lord Nuncio). This had beene the sum of Generall Neylls desire, and now the chiefe pointe of these agents

instructions and power to graunte. Arrivinge therefore to Vlster, they shewed 1649.
 their comission unto the Generall, upon severall overtures, at lenght agreed, and
 gaue his Lordship the ensuinge instrument, signed and sealed by the said agents, The returne of
 in hæc verba :

Whereas upon the treatie with Generall Owen Oneylle and his parties a debate
 did arise, how and in what maner the Excommunication issued from the Lord Nuncio
 should be taken to remove from all men the apprehensions they may have, that
 any of the parties in this hapie conuention should be under the danger of that
 censure, and how the Lord Nuncio may be reconciled to the nation for cleeringe
 of that doubt. Wee hereby undertake, in the behalfe of such of the Supream
 Councell and of the clergie that varied from the Lord Nuncio in opinion concearn-
 inge that censure, that the said comissioners and clergie will in the behalfe of all
 therein concerned (for removinge of all doubts) supplicat His Holinesse to free the
 kingdome from that censure, whether valid or not, and that the said comissioners
 and clergie will writte unto the Lord Nuncio in a lovinge and friendly maner,
 desiringe that he will be pleased to forgett all former passadges, at which his
 Lordship tooke any offence, and that he wilbe pleased to be a patron and intercessor
 unto them with His Holinesse in all occasions. Dated the 12th. of October, 1649.

Signed, Nicholas Plunkett,
 Richard Barnewall.

The agents thus dispatched returned backe with all jolitie and mirthe, all the 576.
 well affected to the comon cause, roused now their spirits, alreadie halfe deade,
 were now reviewed. Ormond and Insichuine gathered their scattered forces upon
 those hopfull newes of reconciliation, he comaunded to Rosse 2500, under the
 comaunde of Major Luke Taaffe, to Wexforde 1500 men, beside the natives, The maninge
 comaunded by Captain Stafford, governor of the castle there. At this time it was of Wexforde
 the frowninge fate of Irelands fortune that Generall Neylle did labour in good and Rosse.
 earnest with a dangerous sicknesse, by his then phisicians called gowte; but
 deceaued rather the operation of that lentinge poyson spoken of (no. 557), however, Generall
 pursuant to the said agreement, he comaunded his armie, 7000 stronge, under the Neylle sicke.
 leadinge of Lieutenant Generall Ferrall (asisted by the Bishope of Clogher), to 7000 Vlster
 Linster to joine with Ormonde, whose arrivinge were most wellcome unto all well joine with
 affected, and in the exterior unto Ormonde and his associats (whose was dexter Ormonde.
 enough to cover two faces under one hooide), where wee leaue them gatheringe unto
 a bodie, a numerous armie, but actinge nothinge, rather studyinge to crosse all
 honorable designe, and speake of Cromwell.

CHAPTER XV.

THE two famous soldiers of Rome and Greece, which shott like two thunderbolts 577.
 unto the west and easte, and filled the whole world with the fame of their victories, Sul. de Cael.

1649. are renowned for nothinge more then their celeritie in doinge and preuentinge the
 Curt. de Alex. verie reporte of their cominge, for there is nothinge soe excellent in a chiefe as
 Val. l. 7. prevention ; it blesseth the action with success, and crowneth the actor with glorie.
 Cæs. apud He therefore that would arriue at the poste of victorie, and by her gates enter the
 Plut. tower of fame, must sayle by this way :
 Cicer.

Lucan. l. 1^o.

— rapit agmina ductor
 Impiger, et torto Balearis verbere fundæ
 Ocyor et missa Parthi post terga sagitta.

All the gar-
 risons of
 Wickloe and
 Wexforde
 counties taken
 by Cromwell.

Governor of
 Wexford.

Wexford
 taken.

Edmond
 Buttler killed.
 Fryers killed.

578.

The intended
 courage of
 Rosse garri-
 son.

Ideo are
 comanded to
 deserthe the
 place.

Cromwell, after his late victorie in Drogheda, marched as privat as might be from Dublin towards Arcloew in the countie of Wickloe, not hearde off untill there, upon sight gott the forte there, and thus marchinge alonge lost many of his horse in them straight passadges, by Bryan Mc Phelims partie ; his owne proper horse and furniture was caried from the campe by Christopher Twoohill, wheron did his father, Luke Twoohill, ride after, whoe was sent unto by My Lord Cromwell, that he would giue him a £100 for him, but for Gould or siluer could not have him backe ; but the said gentlman kept him as a monument, gettinge in his way Fearnese, Prospecte, Iniskortie and others, manninge all, he marched towards Wexforde towne, a very stronge place, and though manned as above mentioned, was sure of it, before he left Dublin, the said Stafford, a vaine, idle yonge man (but sutinge to the times), was governor of both towne and castle, nothinge practised in the arte militarie. Cromwell, as confident of the towne, accordinge covenant, marched without tergiversation unto the verie streete, one onely culverin was discharged from the castle, but wittingly soe high, that it could doe noe hurte, which Cromwell admiringe said, What, did the rogue shutt with bullett ? Marchinge on, noe opposition was giuen, slaughteringe all that came in his way, without exception of sex or person, age or condition, onely such as were of the conspiracie ; many of the souldiers (for the most parte Vlstermen, My Lord of Iveaghs regiment) saved themselves by boates and swimminge, but greates mortalitie did accompanie that furie of both souldier and native, all sex and age indifferently there perished ; amonge the rest Sir Edmond Buttler, a braue gentlman, was there killed ; many priests and fryers of both regular and secular orders of S. Francis Order were these, Fr. Richard Synott, Fr. Iohn Esmond, Fr. Peter Stafford, Fr. James Cheeuers, Fr. Paule Synott, Fr. Iames Colmore, Fr. Zymon Stafforde, etc., all which were against the excommunication of My Lord Nuncio.

This famous warriour, embracinge the oportunitie and followinge close his victorie, like the former, his exemplars, with celeritie prevented the verie reporte of his cominge, knowinge this to be the onely meanes to blesse his actions with successe, to attaine unto the porte of victorie, and inter unto the gate of fame, must onely sayle by this way, he therefore marched unto Rosse ; Major Taaffe and his partie havinge intelligence therof, mighty encouraged, and willinge to shewe themselves men in that extremitie. But Ormond, spyinge their said resolution, and not sutable to his principles, comaunded the said major and his partie to quitt the towne and repaire unto the campe, and not to endanger either himself or them in that service ; in due observance therof, deserted the towne and went to the campe, leavinge the poore natiues and towne to the enemye mereie, whoe was not within

6 miles to the towne then, but informed that the towne was, as aforesaid, deserted, 1649.
marched thither, intred the same without opposition.

Noe sooner in possession therof then began to build a bridge ouer the water, to 579.
passe with ease all his armie unto the countie of Kilkeny, which was a stupendious
worke, for there were two maine rivers, Feoire and Berow, joininge there unto one
bed, and the sea tide passage over the towne in the said rivers six or 7 meiles, he
was buildinge this bridge upon this swifte and boisterous runinge-tyde-water, with
barrells, planks, casks, and cables, could not but spende both time, labour, and
charge therin; but while it was in agitation, Ormond had the matter of
13 thousande foote and 5 regiments of horse (containinge at leaste 4000 horse),
in campania upon the continent, one daies marche from the enemie, and neuer
offered to giue the leaste interruption unto him, which was an easie busines to giue
him a rubb, in such a disvantagious aplace, for assuredly a 1000 musketires
and two culverins might hinder the same in spite of all the enemie forces, and the
rather that noe horse could come to that side from the aduersarie, without goeing
20 mile about and through such straights, as a smale partie did hould off a greate
armie, noe such, or other thinge tendinge to the same, was don, and therfore the
bridge was finished, notwithstandinge all difficultie. Lett any indifferent man
judge whether this was loyaltie or treason. While Cromwell did continue in
Rosse he lodged in the Sovereignes house, one Francis Dormer, where did hange
a picture of My Lord of Ormonds; Cromwell, gazinge on it, asked whoe it was that
it represented? beinge tould, said, that the man whom the picture concerned was
more like a hunts-man then any way a souldier, which was most true, and the very
partie soe inclined by education and nature.

The stupendious bridge made by Cromwell.

The number of Ormonds armie.

His publicke mistake.

Judge you which of both.

While all this was acted, three severall armies, Monster, Vlster, and Linster, 580.
and many from Conaght, were gathered together under Ormonds comaunde,
accompanied with Insichuynes, did seate himself in Johnstowne, six mile from
Kilkeny towards Rosse. But Cromwell, havinge finished the bridge, as aforesaide,
marched over it, to oppose the former armie, the directe way, but informed of the
strenght and composure therof, retired to Inishdeog, a most disvantagious place
for horse service (as any that is acquainted with the same may averr), this was at
the most 8000 foote, the basest infanterie that was euer brought unto a field, and
1500 horse, as sure as death, Ormond was the double number. Both the armie
comaunders desired his Lordship to enforme himself of the souldiers intent for
battle, and how inclined, wherupon called the Bishope of Clogher, and willed him
to advice with the Vlster forces how inclined, or what courage did he perceave in
them for battle, whether willinge to fight, or discouraged by the reports of
Cromwells former cruell proceedings. The bishope, addressinge himself to
Leutenant Generall Ferrall, and jointe examined both comaunder and souldier,
the comon souldiers answered that they were ignorant of any other matter or
purpose of their cominge to Linster other then to fight with the enemie, and giue
a rubb unto his further proceedings, which without blowes (for ought they knowe)
could not be otherwise don, that they hoped in the divine asistance would abate his
courage (onely growinge peremptorie for want of resistance) and reuenge his
crueltie, ministred unto their countrimen and associats, and that they thought it

Cromwells retreats to Inishdeoge.

The willingness of the Vlster armie to fight and their reasons for it.

1649. an inexpressible blemish unto the Irish nation, the most parte there in armes, not to shewe their valor, soe much spoken off, in foraigne countries unto a handfull of an insulting enemy.
581. Vpon this warlike and manly resulte of all the Vlster armie, the Bishope and Lieutenant-Generall returned to Ormond and tould what passed, which he hearinge, smiled a litle, said that he would commaunde all the armie unto a bodie unto the posture of battle. Not soe, My Lord, said the lieutenant generall, lett all the Irish be commaunded unto one and the same bodie, and Insichuine and your Lordship's English partie in another division aparte, for our men are mightie jealous of them, that as the heate of the fight did growe they prove not soe censere and friendly, it is not therefore fitt that such a considerable partie, in whose Loyaltie wee diffide, should be in either fronte, reare, flanke, or mixt to our armie; lett them, My Lord, said he, have their peculiar taske; or if this doe not please your Lordship, lett the Linster forces onely joine with our Vlster armie, and lett the rest of the armie stande upon yonder hill as spectators onely, and thus alone will fight with the enemy, and doe hope in God to beare him downe. Ormond attentive, hearinge out those reasons, in returne answered never a worde, but fourth with commaunded the whole armie to march backe towards Kilkeny, to defende the citty, as was bruted, all well affected, as well Vlster as others, thought verie strange of this busines, and conceaued noe good hopes of any prosperous issue, notwithstandinge in regarde of their recent reconciliation they smothered all, untill (as they thought) the arrivall of their owne generall, by whom they expected the rectifyinge of these abuses. Cromwell observinge now all danger past, came out of that nuke (where, if forced onely to continue but for a shorte time, did starve all his armie) and marched towards Cnocktaghar, a troughfare towne and a stronge place, belonginge to Sir Richard Buttler, gott the same without a blowe, leavinge a garrison there, marched with all expedition towards Carrignashurie, Ormonds house, which was guarded with a stronge English garrison, but noe sooner hearde of Cromwells marche thither then some of the best note of officers there went to meete his Lordship, surrendringe both towne and courte unto him, and became of his partie, some wherof with others were lefte there in garrison, and others marched with the armie; hitherto is verified in Cromwell what Plutarchus writeth of Cæsar, *veni, vidi, vici*.
- Dispute of the composure of the battle.
- Lieutenant Generall Ferralls sense.
- Note Ormonds behavior here.
- Cnocktaghar yielded to Cromwell.
- Carrige yielded.

CHAPTER XVI.

582. EVERY action has his warrantie from the collection of circumstances; and amonge these that of time is of greatest moment, for not to adventure when wee should is cowardize, not prudence; and to dare when wee should not is rashnesse, not valour. A wise man therefore must forme his counsells and frame his actions upon the mould of necessarie circumstances.
- Cæsar. l. 5.
Sopho. in El.
Senec. Mid.
Tacit. Hist. 4.
Ovid. Remed.

Temporis ars medecina ferè est : data tempore prosunt,
Et data non apto tempore uina nocent.

Ormond noe sooner enformed of the surrender of Carrige, then hoisinge saile,

thither marched with his whole armie, Cromwell herof certified, leavinge a stronge garrison there, feared all his armie over the Shuire, to take the shortest cutt for Waterforde, as other places were betrayed, soe was this promised him upon sight; to hoode a litle this busines, Ormond advisinge with Insichuyne, leavinge him chiefe comaunder of the armie, and speciale orders to giue an attempte upon Carrige garrison, posted himself to Waterforde, but the natiues were too jealous of his Lordship, would not admitt him unto the citty, nor any garrison from him, other then the Vlstermen, wherupon Ormonde did send dispatches for Major-Generall Huigh Oneyll to bringe 1300 men of the Vlster forces to Waterforde; but the major excusinge himself, Lieutenant-generall Ferrall with the same number of men was thither comaunded governor, and though made the best haste he could, yett a colonell from Ormonde, privatly workinge the surrender of the citty to the enemye upon demaunde.

The Lieutenant-generall arrivinge, was herof fourth with certified, whoe layed hands on him, comittinge him to safe custodie, examininge him, founde all to be true, and to proceede from Ormonds brest, notwithstandinge and though guiltie of death by the lawe of armes, and the Lieutenant-generall his immediat judge, as governor and chiefe comaunder of the citty, where the trespass was comitted and the partie arraigned, remitted both guilte and doome to My Lord of Ormonde, whoe fourthwith acquitted him. The enemye did comaunde a trumpeter to sumon the citty to yeld upon quarter; Lieutenant-generall Ferrall would giue way to none to answer other then himself, whoe required the trumpeter to returne unto his master with this resulte, that he was Lieutenant-generall Ferrall, governor of that place, at present havinge 2000 of his Vlster forces there, that as long as any of them did survieve would not yeld the towne; with this intimation the trumpeter turned taile; Cromwell herof certified, dislodginge, turned his aime elsewhere.

Insichuyne, pursuant to his former assignation by Ormond, comaunded an assaulte to be giuen to Carrige, 1500 men was the sett number under the leadinge of Major Charles Geoghegan, seuerally spoken before). This Charles was son unto Art Mc Huigh Geoghegan, of Castiltowne in Kinaliagh, havinge scientifically learned his humanitie and the rudiments of logicke, thought himself not satisfied with any arte soe suitinge his inclination as that of Mars, nor the same but in its true fonte and chiefe palestra, takinge his course therfore for Flanders, where to his youthfull comendation behaue himself the matter of 5 or 6 yeares, untill the rebellion of Cathalunia began against the Catholicke Majestie, wherupon many of the Low Countrie armie were thither transposed, and amonge the rest this yonge warriour.

In the kingdome of Nauarra, both Catholicke and Christian armie did meete, where the Irish, in the behalf of the Spaniard, did such deeds accomlishe that the Frenche did for a longe time feeble the smarte therof, wherin this yonge Charles was deservedly wounded in his legge, that for a longe time after halted in one, and had a bullett in his bodie for 6 yeares after, as a cause of knowledge of that skirmishe; in remuneration of his valor that day was from Alferez promoted to be Captain, to be payed without arrears, and ventaja, as they call pension; removinge thence to Cathalunia, was comaunded with another partie to that impregnable and reall forte

1649.

Ormond to Waterforde and Insichuyne to Carrig with the armie.

Ormonds mercury for treason.

Arrested by Generall, but remitted to Ormond and acquitted.

Sumons Waterforde.

583.

A brife of Charles Geoghegans education.

1649. of Perpinann, where the Frenche did leaguer him soe longe that all the provision of the forte was exhausted. Butt havinge seuerall starvlinge horses and asses did feede upon as willinge as upon chickens, nay, soe continued untill an asse skull was bought (and thought cheape enough) for a noble; this extenuitie did he indure, but not longe after was relived and the leaguer beaten offe.
- His constancie
in a siedege.
584. Notwithstandinge his high esteeme in that Spanish armie, some jealousies were ministred, wherupon went unto the Frenche armie, and presentinge himself before the Generall there, obsearvinge both his breedinge, language, audacitie, and courage, nobly receaued him as captain of infanterie, with an addition of both meanes and honor, and still had a speciall eye of benevolence towards him. But the Spanish affaires growinge remisse in that kingdome, and that Barcelona, the chiefe cittie there, was taken by the Frenche, the Frenche Generall must giue attendance there for its securinge. Interim, his son did comaunde the armie in his absence, a greate comaunde to our now Charles. But in publicke meetinge, upon some accidentall occasion, spoke some thinge that the noble spiritt of an honorable souldier might judge to his reputation prejudicious, and specially amonge the French, whoe of such matters are too neece (though soe lovinge friends for the sympathy of conditions, age, stature, and learninge), went unto a duell well against his other demeanour, as his then chiefe comaunder and reall benefactor, but eadged on by that inatiue pointe of honor (more deere unto him then all the caducat goods of Europe), had the fortune to giue the other upon the first bout a deadly foile, which noe sooner receaued, then willingly gave him his raper, and leaninge on the victors shouldier, or arme, brought him to his tent, but obsearvinge truely his eminent danger, stole away the same night, and tooke a poaste horse towards the generall to Barcelona, where simulatinge a letter from his father in Ireland to haue receaued, desiringe his speedie arrivall, and pursuant to the same intimation did supplicat the Generalls passe; havinge prevayled, tooke his way directly to Rochell, where embarkinge himself to be transported unto Ireland, arriued with saftie, and is euer since in honorable service, euer employed in greatest dangers, in Dublin (as above mentioned), and now in comaunde with this partie.
- His duell with
the French
Generalls son,
and killed him.
- His arrivall to
Ireland.
585. Major Geoghegan therfore with his 1500 men, with swordes, peekes, and musketts onely, without as much as one pioneere or any kinde of engine had they for the advance of this designe, but must fight brest to breste with a sumptuous and high walle, if not that they were exposed willingly for slaughter. The leaste they could have for such an interprice was ladders, but none at all; notwithstandinge couragiously advanced with such a braue resolution, that maugre all difficultie the major did leade them on unto the verie walle, where they manly fought with both stones, men, and women, the matter of two howers, with greate slaughter on either side, and specially the assaylants lost 500 men and this braue major (whom I beleeve was the prime objecte of this fatall service), and a lieutenant of his name, Richard Reagh Geoghegan, and presently a retreaite was sounded after soe much losse in the sight of a flourishinge armie, and the garrison at instante to be yelded, as havinge never shott of powder, as was credibly after averred by some of the same enemye (and this much did Insichuyne likly knowe). The Majors corps was
- His manly
advance to his
fatall service.
- This Major
and Geoghegan
killed.

caried alonge to Kilkeny, and honorably interred there in Our Lady Church, with both the ceremonie of Church and militarie, with the consternation of both friend and foe that was ever acquainted with him; of whom you may note to his eternall prayse, that he beinge of that partie that did adhere unto the late malignant parte of the Councell against My Lord Nuncios censures publickly, was by particular allowance soe to behave himself. Of his censeritie in that busines you may not doubt, for in his will and testament (which was still perfected) was a clause or provisoe that none should be capable of any his legacie but such as did adhere unto My Lord Nuncio and his censures; this much he charged the executors of the said will to putt in due execution, as conformable to his intentions (as in the said will doe apeere). This is evidence enough of his integritie in that behalfe, whom we beseeche God may accept off.

1649.
Major Geoghagan buried in Kilkeny.

His Catholike Will.

Ormond in Waterforde comaunded Lieutenant-generall Ferrall to marche with a partie of horse and foote to Passadge and defende the same, undertakinge by his honor and credit to keepe off the enemye from attemptinge any thinge that waye. The Lieutenant-generall arrivinge thither, began to repaire a demolished forte that was there, and confidinge too much in Ormonds promise, was verie carelesse, comaunded neither centrie or watche towards the enemye; but Ormond, notwithstandinge his honorable engagment as aforesaid, did not comaunde as much as one horse to spie the enemye proceedings, whence came to passe with this supine negligence of the Lieutenant-generall, that unaware 7 or 8 troupes came from Cromwell to the very place where the Lieutenant with his partie did worke; some were killed, others taken prisoners, the rest tooke theire flight by the sea side, and after by high and inaccessible rocks, the Lieutenant-generall himself narrowly escaped. Captain Iohn O'Hagan (severally hertofore mentioned) and Major Phelim Mc Arte Oge Oneyle, prisoners, were caried alonge to Corke, where continued for 5 or 6 weekes, made a narrow escape, and went to the north. The Lieutenant-generall receaued this losse for his too much credulitie, though Ormonde gaue noe other excuse, onely said it was a mistake, which is too often an excuse in the mouth of this peere. But Cromwell did garrison Passadge then, wherby Waterforde by sea was blocked up.

586.
Ormonds mistake.

Lieut.-generall Ferrall routed.

Iohn Hagan taken prisoner.

Passadge is taken by Cromwell.

You see how many mistakes have Ormond comitted in this very chapter, all conducinge to the destruction of the nation, enablinge the comon enemye, and prejudicious to his Majesties intreste in the kingdome. Sure if My Lord of Ormond did aduventure on Cromwell accordinge the advice of the Lieutenant-generall, and the Vlster armies resulte (as no. 580 mentioned), havinge such advantage as was then offered, would be in the predicament of a prudent commauder, and not of cowarde or traytor, which was the time fitt for that purpose. But to dare attempte Carrige, and acte these other scenes herin mentioned, when he should not, and with soe weake meanes loose his men and encourage the enemye, and dishearten his owne, was a cleere testimonie of his rashnesse, and not valor, displayed treachery and disloyaltie. And after havinge onely the Vlster armie faithfull and loyall, divided the same into 4 severall parties (to render then inconsiderable), one parte he comaunded to Waterford with Lieutenant-generall Ferrall, another with the Major-Generall to Clonmell, another

587.

What in other men is treason is in Ormond a mistaken.

1649. under the comaunde of Daniell Oneyll, a Protestant, his owne creature, by My Lord Montgomry unto the North, and the fourth here and there dispersed at randome about the countrie, therby rendringe them hatfull unto the people, where wee leave them for a while, and speake of Generall Neyll, our occasion now of grieffe.

CHAPTER XVII.

588. LIGHTNING hurts not the lawrell, nor is scene in places farr North and remote from the sunne. No more is a peacable and meane estate subjected to the force of fortune, or danger of higher powers, for the talle cedars on the montaines topp are shaken, over-turned with tempest, when the lowe shrubbs of the valley are in quiet. Soe likewise the meanest estate stands upon brasse, the highest upon glasse; the way upward is craggie, downe-warde icie: men climbe by degrees, but fall at once betweene the highest fortune and lowest, there is noe stay.
- Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 16.
Seneca.
Tacit. An. 24.
Horat.
Ovid.

Qui jacet in terra, non habet unde cadat.

- Alas what apollogie can I make for the comencment of the ensuing scene? What angell witt and dexter penn haue I neede of at present to present unto publicke viewe the moane of my groaning hearte? If Apelles had scene how it lyes, sobbinge for the losse of one, what a mourninge pencell did he bestowe ont? Why doe not my glymeringe fonts to rawlinge streames of saltrie teares now vent? more reason should perswade me to doe it, then Dido the queene dowager of Cartagh to stile continually waterie pearles from her charminge lookes for the absence of Eneas, or Eneas himself, whose against or beside the honor of a warlike prince, the progenitor of Remus and Romulus, and other the imperiall race, too often teared for the losse of Troye; what Parthenia, the beloved of Argalus, had don, whose seeinge him deade before her eyes, could not satisfie herself in the scorchinge heate of feminian love, usinge all womanish action in the behalfe of grieffe and moane, in shedinge of teares, pullinge her goulden and flaxen curles, scrachinge inhumanly her angelicall visage. But armed herself like a strange-aduenturinge-knight, to fight with the victor, and soe to be killed by the same champion, Amphialus, that conquered and killed her mate, and thus followed her lover, to accompany him unto the grave. But to forgoe prophane stories, and imitate the divine oracle in this tragicall scene of morninge. Did not the kingly prophet, with whips and ashes, fastes and teares, lamente the death of a recente-borne infante, the fruite of murther and adulterie, did not the same holy prophette, with excesse, bemoane the death of his treacherous and disloyall boy Absolon? In two seuerall occasions the prophet Jeremie did the like; the one for the destruction of Jerusalem, the other did bitterly mourne the miscariage of Kinge Josias (though killed, as fightinge against divine ordinance with Nechao, Kinge of Egypt); nay, our Saviour himself (as man) was obnoxious of this passion, for seuerall times did he shewe his inwarde grieffe by the exteriour flux of saltrie and bitter teares, from his divine eyes; once
- Lamentation for Generall Neylle.
Virg.
2. Reg. 12.
2. Reg. 18.
Threnorum 1^o.
2 Paral. 35.

for the future destruction (previded by himself) of the citty of Jerusalem or Jebus, to be acted by Titus and Vespasian, Romaine Imperours, the other upon the occasion of his freinde Lasarus, his resuscitation, beinge the 4th day of his interrment. Why, then, should not I moane, havinge more pregnant motiues in its behalfe for the present (if proper opinion will prove probable) then any the former mourners? It is not the momentarie absence of tearinge Eneas, as Dido, whose punishment was justly inflicted on her, as beinge too prodigall of herself unto a stranger before she was acertaind of him and his censeritie towards her, nor the feminian fancie of beauteous and chaste Parthenia, to indeere her memorie to future ages for her constancie, more then the knowen rule of her sex may in that behalfe warrant; neither is it for the destruction of one sole citty, as our Saviour and Jeremie for Jerusalem, nor for the death of Josias, exposinge himself contrarie to divine ordinance to the danger, nor for a privat Lasarus halfe rotten in his tombe, destined therto for Gods greater glorie, nor for the just miscariage of a towarde Jonen, disobedient to the lawes of both God and nature, disrespectful to his progenitors, and incestuous before the divine clemencie; nor for the untimely death of a swathing infant, scarce knowen whether male or female, before his last period, and this by a just doome and revenge of the supreame Judge in punishment of adulterie and murther.

1649.

Luc. 19.

Joan. 11.

All these were particular affections, mine is comon for the generall good. I lament the death of a brave warriour, the choice champion of His Holinesse, Vrban, the eight Pope of that name, requiringe his repaire unto Ireland, chiefe comaunder, immediatly from himself, for the Catholicke warr, as havinge pregnant testimonies of his fidelitie, and vberant fortune in such affaires, a souldier since a boy in the onely martiall academie of Christendome Flanders, never drewe his sworde, unto his dyinge day, other then in Catholicke religious defence, as wittnesse Bohemia, Sweland, Frizland, Holand, Norwaye, Denmarke, and now Ireland. This bulwarke of holy religion and Pope's Scanderbeg, Don Eugenius, or Owen Oneylle, seuerally impeded in this his godly designe by factious and treacherous members of this same kingdome (as formerly touched), as a tall cedar placed on the montaine toppe of fame and reputation, was terribly shaken and ouerturned by the loftie blastes and thunderinge winds of emulation and self envie; Irelands fortune in his time was favourable, the churche of God flourished, the militia, in emulation of his vertues, warrlicke, the enemie weake and declininge, the countrie plentifull. But now all things turned toppsie-torvy, as there is noe stay betweene the highest and lowest fortune, by his death the enemie is growen stronge and cruell, noe citty, forte, or towne doe oppose him, noe churche, monesterie, or religious house inhabitted, the militia discouraged, dishearted, and growen cowarde, none to shewe his face in the field, for now the enemie doe not feare the naminge of Generall Owen Oneylle, which not longe before did sounde like a thunderbolte in his eares. This is it that I lament, the death of soe well desearvinge a man, in the whole kingdome the onely stickler of both religion and nation, whose now want is the cause of all the woe and evill hapninge unto us, whose onely name (if but like an echo uttered, and his corps in a cradle or chariott caried) would keepe life and breath in the decayed affaires of Ireland, and discourage the now victor-enemie.

I 589.

1649. What will the poore Northeren people doe now (though the losse is comon) ? Your
 590. father, your Generall, your ruler, and your styrrer is now wantinge ! to whom shall
 be given now the ciuicke, murall, vallare, and naualls garlands, that the Romaines
 were wont to graunte theire respectiue conquerours ? The ciuicke garland and
 coronets were giuen by the ould Romaines, to those Generalls that had saued the
 liues of many citizens, and these were held more noble and of greater honor then
 either the murall and vallare garlands given to them that first entreed the enemie
 towne or campe ; or then the navall for doinge some brave exployte at sea, for they
 valewed the life of one of theire owne at ten of the enemie. Wherefore a worthy
 Generall should not hazarde to gett that by fine force and assaulte, with manifest
 losse of his men, which by all militarie collections he may be sure to carie
 otherwise :

Plin. Nat.
 Hist. l. 22.
 Senec. Epist.
 89.
 Scip. in Plut.
 Justin. l. 1°.

Malo unum Sopyrum, quam centum Babilonios capere.

Owen Oneylle
 died November
 6th, 1649.

What euer Romaine was more worthy of this civicke garlande (nay, the verie
 Councetator himself was not) then our present Eugenius, none amonge them all was more
 tender of the citizens liues then this, not onely of his whole proper armie, butt allsoe
 of all the nation in generall, beinge confident, accordinge any reasonable induction,
 that in the wininge of a fort (though of greate concearnment) that he would loose a
 poore ordinarie souldier (if any other way could be invented for its recooper), would
 foregoe the bargaine for such a score. But alas, unhapie and tiranizinge death
 (the deformed broode of our first parents his disobedience, and the executioner of
 divine justice, though alone conquerour of mankinde), as it seemes, durst not venture
 se solo and hand to hand ex abrupto, without deliberation and odds against our
 Catholicke champion ; therefore invited maladies and infirmitie, which by con-
 tinuall and tedious assaultes, peined the invincible valour of his more then manly
 sinewes, wherby cowarde death was encouraged to give an attempte against him
 (alreadie with the said lingringe conflicts ouercome), with maine force, stricke him
 to death, whoe died in Our Lord the sixth day of November, 1649 ; a true child of
 Catholicke religion, in sense and memorie, many of both regular and secular
 clergie, in place asistinge him in such a doubtfull transite, behavinge himself
 most penetent, as a certaine poet with this conogramicall poem aluded, to the tune
 of all soules afflicted, cecinit :

In perfecte penance, which is the pledge of glorie,
 Leavinge the world noe relique but Henries storie ;
 For Earths perfection, for the mouth of fame,
 Whoe consecrate, to her eternall name,
 Which shall survieve (if Muses can devine,
 Though not in those poore monuments of mine) ;
 To the end of daies, and by those losers rimes,
 Shalbe deliuerd to succeedinge times.
 Soe longe as braue Mars shall but finde a freinde
 Eugenius his lastinge fame shall never end.

Beinge most devout unto all regular Orders in his life, and specially to the holy
 Order of Saincte Dominicke, weared his habitt, as a sure buckler against the rigor
 of future judgment, but was intered in the monesterie of Saincte Francis of Cavan,

to oblige both patriarches. Some deeming God in his divine clemencie, not to 1649.
deale soe straight with this poore nation, as to bereaue them of this theire onely
champion, rather the worlde beinge not worthy of soe good a masterpeece, lulled
him asleepe, snatched him away to some secret corner of the world (as another
Elias) to keepe him there for future better purposes, the grounde of this surmishe,
that sleepe and death are brothers, and therefore not easie to discearne betweene
both, other then by the effects. As longe as he breathed life, we weare to stande
in possession of this lande, or the best parte therof, now all whipped and snatched
out of our hands, wherby are certaine of his deathe, this beinge its effecte. The
former poet, therefore, as an epitaph to be placed on the frontespice of his tombe,
to the same tune alude thus :—

It is receaued that Sleepe's the elder brother,
I see noe reason for't—I thinke the other ;
Though Sleepe does now vsurpe the upper hand,
I am sure that Death do's sweepe away the land.—ay——.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE nature of deepe dissimulation is to heede itself under certaine vailles and 591.
filmes, like the opticke vertue in the eye, that it may see all things and not be
seene itself: but the most frequent and safest coverte (though the most dishonest)
under which it lyes tapissed and harboured is fained freindshipe. The wisest and
readiest way to unkennell this fox, and unearthe him out of this denne of fained
protestation, is by a false fire of fained credulitie. Cic. ad Frat.
Verrin.
Senec. Hippol.
Cic. Offic.

Fallite fallentes, ex magna parte profanum
Sunt genus : in laqueos, quos posuere cadant.

Ovid.

Wee made mention (no. 587) that Ormond did disperse the Vlster armie unto seuerall
parties, and enformed the same to be variously construed, as tendinge to disunion,
and consequently distruction of the whole nation, whoe with more then humane
dissimulation heedes his intentions under certaine vailles and filmes of fained
freindshipe, and with more then earnest desire of union (to indeere himself this
way), did write his proper addresses unto all the clergie, prelates, insinuatinge his
desire, that it may stande with their goode pleasure to call a convocation to their
choise place, and there unanimously to prescribe a regulare way tendinge to the
safetie of both themselves and nation, engaginge himself in the honor of a peere,
to ratifie, confirme, and approve what in this behalfe they did conceave; and the
rather to expresse his willingnesse therin, did undergoe to beare the charges of
that meetinge. Ormonds
colution.
Clonmacnase
congregation.

The clergie havinge had a triall (by wofull experience) of his fained protestations, 592.
and not performed promises, heretofore, might verie well now, if politicians,
unkennell this fox, to use but false fire of fained credulitie, but simplicitie, insteede
of diffidinge in the asseverations and compliable realities of this relapsinge per-

1649. sonage, did giue full assurance to their owne understandinge of his integritie, pursuant therunto did gather in heapes and multitude unto Clonmacnose in the Kings countie, about the 4th of December, 1649, wheare arrived agents from Ormond, Sir Nicholas Plunkett, and Doctor Gerrott Fennell, by whom was sent some corne and money to their maintenance. Sittinge there, with many disputes and overtures, kanvassing many needlesse questions on either side, some, that euer yett apered, as sure bulwarkes for the veritie of our former assertions, did shewe themselves there, rather aprovinge Ormonds actions, then any way to carpe at him, or redresse former abuses; others, that shewed themselves loyall sticklers for the generall cause hitherunto, and clergie imunitie, were now baristers pleadinge a contrarie resulte. After a longe and tedious debate, they concealed nothinge, other then a kinde of union betweene the verie prelates, and an ex-communication against Toryes, or such plunderers as were not under colours, but runinge upon particular score, the one was never obsearued, nor the other putt in execution, nor either ratified or confirmed by Ormond or his Comissioners of trust (accordinge his foresaid engagment), rather the acte and actions dispised and villipended by him. This was the fruite of duplicitie and weaknesse.

The facile credulitie of those prelates.

The Bishope of Clogher, etc.

All the acts.

Nothinge obsearued.

CHAPTER XIX.

593. Hæ that beares one blowe at an enemies hand asketh another, and he that endureth one contemptible neglecte from his subjecte shal be sure of many; for not to haue sense of a foraigne affront, and be displeased at home-bred abuses, and capable to redresse both, are things much derogatinge from the honor of a prince; the first argues a pusilanimitie of spirit, the other a debilitie of judgment. He therefore that will not be wronged the second time must remedie the first, against a stranger by the lance, against a subjecte by the lawe.

Plut. de. Cat.
Senec. de Ira.
Lucret. l. 5.
Tacit. an. 2.

Catil. l. 5. Primo in limine siste conatus scelerum, atque animos infanda parantes.

In this time Ormond did apointe a garrison in Calluyne, 5 miles from Kilkeny, 1500 men in the greate castle, an impregnant peece of worke, under the comaunde of Sir Robert Thalbot. Amonge the rest was one Captain Marcus Geoghegan of Frevanagh, in the barony of Moycashell, with his company, in a petty castle, a kinde of a gate hous, tatched with strawe. The enemye marchinge home, Captain Geoghegan, advicinge with Sir Robert Thalbot, that they were best to demolish the said petty castle, as not defensible, and he and his company to come to the greate castle, and did undertake to defende the same, though this motion was soe reasonable, that noe true hearted martialist in such an extremitie could euer deny it, notwithstandinge Thalbot would not admitt it, as not sutinge to his future treacherie. The captain's motion rejected, must now sticke to his gate house, for proper securitie, or perish; wherupon did resolue either to die, or make good the place. The enemye now aproachinge, thought all to be safe; but contrary to his expectation, was opposed at the said gate-house with a bloudie volly of

Captain Geoghegans motion to Sir Robert Thalbot, Governor.

shott, layinge downe deade at leaste a douzen. The enimie obsearvinge that fatall begininge, did marche in a full bodie towards the said gate; the assaulte was mightie fierce and bloudie, the defence extraordinarie; the enimie was three severall times repulsed and beaten backe, with mightie greate losse, and the defendants lost many of their men; quarter would not accepte, though severall times offered, the governor never yett reliued them with one man. The enimie now marched with maine force, the deffendants (though the best that could be), now by the multitude overswayed, were all, to the last man, putt to the sworde; neuer a man escaped the furie, and none killed but in action, and whoe well desearved death. 300 at leaste of the enimie was killed in the same place, and many deadly wounded; Captain Geoghegan was killed, and was truly reported by the very enimie, that he neuer sawe such feates don, by one man, as was acted by the Captain. 20 at leaste he killed with his proper sworde; nay, his wife that surveivved him, and the rest, duringe the assaulte, did kill 8 men with stones, and other weapons that fell from the perishinge souldiers, as was given out, whoe was tiranically butchered, and left for deade amonge her comradds (though now livinge); My Lord Cromwells partie, since he came to Ireland, neuer receaued such a foyle, and by soe meane an instrument.

1649.

The enimie
number killed
by Geoghegan.

The Captain
and all his
men killed.

The governor obsearvinge all the former passadges capable to relive the one and highly anoy the other, did neither of both; his castle, as aforesaid, impregnable against any runinge armie; nay, did not much care for ordinance, for a longe sledge, if well manned, havinge a good comaunder and all necessaries for such a purpose, the enimie never dreamed to make any stay there, onely gaue the attempte offeringe to plunder and pilladge the towne, if they could; havinge now goen soe farr as to possesse themselves of the gate, marched towards the greate castle, whoe without one shott in opposition, presently embraced a parley for surrender, which out of hande they did upon quarter onely of their lives, which graunted, the governor did yeld this brave castle unto the enimie, which with onely nego might keepe it in his hands, now without sworde or cloke, is like himself packinge awaye towards Kilkeny, where Ormond was then enformed by Thalbot what hapened, neither lamented the one or punished the other, nor shewed the leaste signe of disquiet for either action; nay, highly esteemed and honored Sir Robert Thalbot, and presently gave him and Sir Iohn Downgan the custodium of Kilkae, a manor house of the Earl of Kildare, in the same countie, an invincible place, which was soone after, by the said Robert, yelded to the enimie, beinge onely eight horse in number, such a man would Ormond both respecte and promote to be governor of places of high concearnment for the publicke (as hear-after will apeere), wherof (if he were either loyall or politicke) might by the first neglecte of Calluyne busines be certaine to endure other affronts by this subjecte, as not takinge his remedie by the lawe, wherof he was capable, which did in him argue a debilitie of judgment, or a settled pronitie to treason (which was in this same mans actions, liquidly averred, ut alias.

594.

The treacher-
ous behavior
of Thalbot.

His base sur-
render.

Judge by this
action what
Ormonde was.

Insteede of
punishment is
the seconde
time in trust.

I haue noted (in my opinion) a thinge worthy observation in the onely familie of the Geoghegans, that I see never a name or familie in all the kingdome that soe duely, honorably, and totally miscaried as they, never a one of them was ever

595.

1649. killed other then like a braue souldier, and in comaunde, in action ; Lieutenant Bryan Geoghegan at Lince hill, as no. 44 ; Lieutenant-colonell Bryan Geoghegan and Captain Art, his brother, at the siede of Bonratty, as no. 212 et 235 ; Captain James Geoghegan at Droheda, taken prisoner and wounded at Acher pallise, no. 292 ; Captain Richard Geoghegan at Rathmine, no. 563 ; Captain Mathewe and Captain Thomas Geoghegan at Droheda, no. 570 ; Major Charles Geoghegan and Lieutenant Richard Geoghegan killed, Carrignashurie, no. 585 ; and Captain Marcus Geoghegan, now of late in Calluyne, no. 593. These 10 Geoghegan comaunders perished to the world, but to future ages lefte sufficient matter of honorable imitation of both courage and fame, and noe marvayle, as each endued with such extraordinarie noble qualities, as well infused as acquired, of extraction, bridinge, and comelinesse of persones, that induced, not onely them, but the most clownest behaviur to the undergoinge of any generous action, how dangerous soeuer ; this I doe not write of them as any way alive unto either of them more then unto many others here mentioned, but to give a sweete relish unto the rest of theire name, that dranke of the bitter potion of these eternished cavalliers deathe, whose life is soe celebrated in heauen, as we hope in God.
- The authors reason for this particular.
596. My Lord of Ormond, residinge in Kilkeny, some enemie horse cominge within halfe a mile to the citty, the alarum was bruted, that all the enemie armie was neere the gates ; upon intimation herof, all men distracted and discouraged, as beinge in noe posture of defence for such a busines, notice was to be giuen unto his Excellencie, the partie apointed for that errant passinge by his Excellencies chamberlaine, questioned what the matter was ? whoe for answeare tould him, as formerly, of the enemies aproache towards the towne. Tuish, said the Chamberlaine, My Lord is asleepe, doe not trouble him with these foperies ; braue courage, he will not awake from his repose, and the conqueringe enemie at his gate, and next morninge will cleere all the whole province, and leaue it naked to the enemie mercie—extravagant proceedings.
- Note Ormonds courage also.
597. Ormond therefore now, havinge his intente of betrayinge both kingdome and nation, and rendringe both, by rente and division, incapable of any opposition to be given the enemie in the field, he apoints Castlhauen (a fitt instrument of his pretences) chiefe comaunder of the scatteringe forces of Linster. He allsoe apointed Sir Walter Buttler, governor of Kilkeny, with his proper troupe, and 200 foote, comaunding him upon three daies siede to yeld the citty and castle to the enemie, if in that interim not reliued. This don, marched himself with his comissioners of trust, and the choice horse of Linster, bagg and bagagge, towards Inish Cluan roud in the Countie of Clare, the matter of 30 miles from any enemie (to secure his proper person), and from Kilkeny upwards of 40 miles. Is it not strange what orders he left Sir Walter Buttler, I, upon 3 daies siede to surrender the same unto the enemie, if not reliued, the impossibilitie of any such is obseyable, himself goinge four daies marche, at the leaste, from that place to be reliued, and there havinge noe men to marche with for such a relife ; nay, nor in rerum natura, all scattered, rent and distracted by himself, as formerly touched, therefore the condition is implicable, and consequently not observable, ergo he is —a—
- Ormonds illu-sorie order to Walter Buttler.

The yeare 1650 wee comence.

1650.

CHAPTER I^r.

It is more princly to enriche then to be riche. This rule in itself implyeth a limitte for beinge soe, he may not impoverish himself to make others riche, least he be unable to performe that princly office, and want meanes to rewarde well desearvinge in others. Wherefore a greate beggar must haue a greate saye; nay, and a greate giuer must not soe glutt his follower, as that he take from him alledge of meritinge more, or expectinge more good, leaste he offer the sacrifice of his ould service upon a newe alter, and turne the pointe of his power upon him that gaue it.

598.
Arist. Eth.
Martial. l. 7.
Tacit. l. 3.
Alex. Seuer.
apud
Lamp.
Senec.
Claud. Paneg.

Nil negat, et sese, vel non poscentibus offert.

Wee left Lieutenant-generall Ferrall in a routing maner returninge from Passadge to Waterforde, no. 586, now obsearvinge how the world went with him, how matters were caried by Ormond, his proper generall deade, and his armie dispersed, as above mentioned, he sued his Excellencie orders for removall from that poaste, which was graunted, and Generall Thomas Preston apointed in his place, whoe was very loathe to deserte Catarlagh, at lenth fearinge to incurre his Excellencies displeasure, marched to Waterford and left Oliuer Darcy, bishope of Dromore, governor of Catarlagh, with 2 or 3 compaynes of his owne regiment under the comaunde of Captain Bedlowe. This house was most plentiful of all kinde of necessaries for a longe sledge, corne, malte, powder, beefe, butter, all kinde of prouision, amunition and armes for a 1000 men (if soe many were needfull to continue there) for a whole twelmonth, Preston leauinge Catarlagh in this braue condition, marched himself accordinge orders to Waterford, whoe, thither arrivinge, Lieutenant-generall had a supercedias, pursuant therto marched to Linster with his regiment. The recent generall of Linster, Castlhauen, was gatheringe as many as he were able of the Linster forces together, and enformed of the Lieutenant-generalls arrivall towards the borders of that province, did send his dispatches for him, whoe mette at Carlagh, a considerable partie, horse and foote; amonge the rest was Sir Thomas Armstronge, Comissarie-generall of the horse, with his Puritant-horse-regiment.

Preston goen
to Waterford.

Bishope of
Dromore,
Governor of
Catarlagh.

Generalls
Ferrall and
Castlhauen
together.

Not longe before this time Mac Thomas did demolish the castle and Dominican monesterie of Athy, to render all there unservicable for garrison, notwithstandinge a partie of horse and foote of the enemie came thither, and findinge it deserted, did man the same, as beinge a straight passage betweene the countie of Leyse and Kildare. Castlhauen with his foresaid abettors marched thither, as hopinge to putt this garrison out of the waye, whoe arrived about 12 oclocke at noone time, couragiously intred the towne, in a thrice did both kill and take prisoners all the said garrison, excepte a fewe horse, that by the shwiftnesse of their steedes ran awaye, did burne, plunder, and pilladge the towne; this was thought a good presage of a future better service. But treacherie still workinge, did cause such

599.

Athy taken
from Crom-
wells partie;

1650. as were well affected to parte Castlhauens company, and soe distracted here and there. And thus was the occasion. Sir Thomas Armstronge, comissarie of the horse, as aforesaid, did write a letter unto My Lord Cromwell, settinge fourth that his Lordship should not be offended or jealousy with him for servinge the Irish, for, said he, your Lordship may be confident of my loyaltie towards your Lordship, and to shewe your Lordship the censeritie of my humble service unto you I stay here, as well knowinge to be thus more capable for compliyanse therof then if extant in your proper armie, notwithstandinge what your Lordship will haue me doe, that I will acte and nothinge else; Remaininge in the Interim, your Excellencies humble Servant, Thomas Armstronge.
- The cause of
breakinge the
partie.
- Sir Thomas
Armstronge
letter to Crom-
well.
- Castlhauens
treacherous
answeare.
- Leutenant-
generall
Ferrall and
Colonell Lewes
Moore de-
parted.
- This letter was intercepted by some of Colonell Lewes Moores troupe and brought to him, whoe caried it to the Leutenant-generall, and both did shewe it to Castlhauen, whoe perusinge the same, spoke never a worde, but trusted it to his pockett. The said comaunders desiringe his Lordships sense therupon, onely answered, that he did conceave noe matter therin: upon whose answeare, the said comaunders, not any way therby satisfied, and amonge themselues mutteringe stronge discontents and jealousies, conceavinge their proper saftie to stande at a stake in company of such perfidious members, and therefore resolved to take their leaue and breake that partie, which obtained, the Leutenant-generall marched with his partie towards the Countie of Longford, and Colonell Moore to his proper home. Armstronge did well knowe that Ormond did soe glutt him with favours and promotions, that he tooke from him all edge or capacitie to expecte more goods at his hands, therefore will now offer the sacrifice of his ould service upon Cromwells newe alter, and turne the pointe of his power upon the giuer Ormonde, or more truely upon the Catholicke Irish, his abettors.
600. After the daparture of these comaunders, as aforesaid, Castlhauen alone with his Puritant horse, and parliamentarie comissarie, none other adheringe unto his Lordship, was soone wearie of that trade, amusinge what to doe, not how to acte any honorable service, either prejudicious to the comon enemie, or for the nation profit, but whom to trust with a sub-delegation of his comaunde in Linster, that did prove conformable to Ormond and his former principles, none was founde as forward and as reall in that behalfe as the Bishoppe of Drumore, now governor of Catarlagh, chiefe actor of this tragicall comedie, whom his Lordship did nominat and ordaine Vice-generall of the Catholicks of Linster, immediatly dependinge of himself, which done, himself, Armstronge, with such others as adhered unto them, did marche towards the Countie of Clare, to followe and searue My Lord of Ormonde, leavinge nowe all Linster naked to the enemie doome, none of the standinge armie of that province now afoote, visible, except fewe foote that ran in loose companies a particular score, impowerishinge the countrie, and not shewinge their face unto any enemie, though upon high advantage.
- The Bishoppe of
Dromore Vice-
generall by
Castlhauen.
- Castlhauen and
Armstronge
marche to the
Countie of
Clare.
601. The contry thus deserted, the enemie ranged at pleasure, any number, wherof cominge to the best and stronger forte that belonged either to Ormond, or any that depended on him, was upon sight presently yelded. Iohn Mc Iames Bryan, a degenerat Birne of Ballianity in the Countie of Kilkeny, a houshold servant of My Lord of Ormond, was the first man in all that Countie that went unto the
- Linster naked
to the enemie.
Iohn Bryan a
degenerat
Byrne.

emie in person and submitted, and perswaded all the rest of the said countie to doe the like. Bellaragad, a very stronge castle, with a braue bawon, turrets, and other defensible workes, a manour house of the Viscounte Richard Buttler, Lord of Montgerrott, was deliuered up to onely 8 emie horse. All the forts, townes, and cittyes of Monster (before My Lord Cromwell or any his partie thither arriued) were secured for him by Insichuynes partie there (our fellowe confederats, whoe kept them places), whoe sent seuerall dispatches unto My Lord Cromwell, desiringe his Lordship to secure all places in Linster, as for Monster, said they, you may be ascertained therof without controlment.

Sir Walter Buttler, gouernour of Kilkeny, as above mentioned, was more generous then soe, would not yeld without beinge forced unto. A siedege, therefore, was layed unto Kilkeny, the gouernour kept the same for a weeke, foure daies beyonde his orders from Ormonde, and if he were pleased and the cittizens loyall might keepe it for a twelmonthe, if a straighter siedege were not layed unto; but the base cowardiz and disloyall townsmen betrayed both the gentlman and the cittie, did capitulat with the emie, which agreed upon, the gates were opened for him, and all unknowen unto the governor, noe mention made in the said capitulation, either of him or any his partie, all his now remedie was seeinge the emie had the cittie to defende the castle, therby to force a quarter for himself and his souldiers, which beinge putt in execution untill the emie thought it the leaste of evils to graunte him and his an honorable quarter of both liues and armes, which perfected both cittie and castle were yelded; Sir Walter and his horse leaueing the cittie, as aforesaid, and marched towards Renaliagh in the Countie of Westmeath, where he intended to surprize the castle of Dunore, but therin not thrivinge, his horse ranged at pleasure in the said baronie, actinge much mischief without respecte to either person or place, in soe much that they went unto the parish church of Ardmogher (where was some corne and other goods of both priest and other poore men, as in a sanctuarie), forced the same, did unchristianly rifle the church, broke up both doore and windowes, chiefe actor of this scene was one Captain Gerald Fitz-Gerald. Sir Walter complained unto of this discatholicke behaviour, did neither crubb or punish the malefactors, from hence returned to his proper home to Balli Pole in the Countie of Kilkeny, and soone after died; whoe proved a reall gentleman and a good servitor, before he was corrupted by Ormond and his faction, for whose spirituall saftie we humbly supplicat the divine clemencie to be propitious.

1650.

All garrisons
belonginge to
Ormond yelded.Monster yelded
by Insichuynes
partie.

602.

Kilkeny siedege.

The townsmens
treacherie.Sir Walter
forced quarter.Theire uncivill
behaviour
against church
imunitie.Sir Walter
dyed.

CHAPTER II.

THERE is much wisdom in that Prince, whoe can judge of the seuerall advices given by his counsellors; yett greater is his vertue that can discearne and followe the best. But his sagacitie is singular that can dive into theire inward thoughts and purposes whoe giue it. Because it is dangerous to be caried away with that counsell, which tendeth onely to the particular profit of the counsellor; for wheare

603.

Livi. l. 22.

Cic. pro
Clu[entio].

Hesiod. l. 10.

Iamb. in . . .

1650. the prince is of soe casie and tractable a nature, it were better for the State to haue
 Vellei. 1. 2. him wicked then for him to haue such wicked ministers.

Raro eminentes viros non magnis adiutoribus, ad gubernandam fortunam suam, reperies.

The nobilitie and gentrie of Vlster, mourninge the death of their Generall, feelinge his now want, and not to be as a flocke without a pastor, their dispersed souldiers and comandars flockinge home by degrees, wherupon a provincially assembly was summoned by the Councell, to nominate and apointe a newe Generall; many competitors did apeere, euery one thought himself worthy that place; the Marquesse of Antrim was an earnest sutor in proper behalfe, the Oneylles thought their claime for the chieffie and comaunde of Vlster to be hereditarie; Competition of General-shipe. Lieutenant-generall Ferrall, by the lawe of armes, was confident of his title, as next in comaunde to the defuncte, Huigh Oneylle, as of that sceptre, and Major-generall, and the better souldier of both name and province; Sir Phelim Oneylle, by the numerositie of his followers, and with pregnant hopes of beinge seconded by the Linster Ormondian faction, Con Mc Cormacke Oneylle, hertofore Lieutenant-generall for the same province, and of the eldest descent of that familie, and Phillippe Mc Huigh O'Reylly, a good comonwealths-man, of greates respecte, and by the pluralitie of his name and followers was thought to carie a maine stroke in the election. The Assembly wislie consideringe the danger that was like to ensue by the choosinge any of the former (nor the late Generalls son, Henrie roe Oneylle), though each worthy any honor, and of better hopes to be soe promoted then any other not here specified.

604. Notwithstandinge to cutt of all motiues of both jealousie and emulation, they unanimously did nominat the Bishoppe of Clogher Generall of Vlster, a man neither by descent, function, practise in the arte, or any other qualitie for such encumbencie, was thought to be looked upon onely for the sedation of inquiet and aspiringe mindes; and that his proper censeritie (at leaste while Generall Neylle liued) was too often aproved; this, with his naturall good witte, was sufficient grounde for this newe choice of generall. But noe sooner elected, then tooke his journey towards My Lord of Ormond (then resident in the Countie of Galway), publickly to endeere himself to the gouernment (though privatly might haue his owne ends), though this brave prelate was most reall for the generall good. But now in the opinion of many, in this sudaine behaviur mightie swarued from his former principles and was farr deceaued (under whose sweete and mellifluous protestations laye bitter and venomous poyson and treacherie) in Ormonde, whoe with Clanricarde promised him all possible asistance, and specially that bringinge his armie unto the field, towards Tyrconell, would send the way of Bellasanna a considerable armie of both horse and foote, with ordinance and other ingins fitt for the wininge of a towne or forte (of whose veritie you shall hearafter be ascertained off). The prelate (as in himself true and faithfull) yelded all credence unto those simulatinge verities, which seemes unto me verie strange, that a man of his bridinge and learninge, havinge the experience of ten years now of this factioniers proceedings charactered still of inconstancie, worthyly tainted with disloyaltie, and neuer yett placed in the predicament of observator promissionis vel veritatis, that he should

It is strange unto me that this prelate was deceaued.

soe easily giue credence unto his bare words, when his very publicke and authenticke instruments were never of force to move him to the leaste compliance therof, which by wofull experience this good prelate did verie well knowe. And if nothinge else did cause his diffidence in the realitie of this peers promises, other then what he sawe him acte for the disablinge the Vlster armie, and encourage the comon enimie in Linster, before this same prelates face, any man of judgment would thinke it motiue sufficient neuer to trust or affy in any his assertions, notwithstandinge all these motiues, and many others of diffidence in his promises that he might knowe, was mightie satisfied, and returned home, where we leaue him for a while musteringe and recrutinge his armie, and speake of other occurrences in this time. 1650.

CHAPTER III.

As many men sinke for wante of some small thinge to hould themselues up above water, soe many others fall to the bottome of desperate ruine by seekinge to embrace too much; for to over-graspe straineth and weakneth the sinewes, and forceth the hand to lett fall what before it held fast. It is, therefore, the parte of a wise prince to stinte and moderate his fortunes; whom it importeth in his greatest successe, rather to looke backwarde then forwarde, and rather to stope the current of dangers ensuinge then to followe the streame of that victorie by which they will more be encreased. 605.

Tu quoque formida nimium sublimia, semper
Propositique memor, contrahe vela tui.

Ovid. Art. 1.
2.

Giue me leaue, good reader, to refresh your memorie alitle with the irregular refraction of Father Redmond Caron, and his complices, against holy obedience of lawfull superiours, as tendinge to this our subjecte, touched no. 542, where wee spoke of his mission and authoritie by Marchant, Comissarie-generall of Flanders, against all lawe, won therunto by both faction and corruption, as there and severally otherwise specified, and the regular proceedings of Father Thomas Mc Kyernan, Provinciall for the justifyinge his proper cause. But now, havinge noe indifferencie in the kingdome, in regarde, the judge, My Lord Nuncio, to whom belonged the regulatinge of such sinister matters, was by the same faction borne downe, and by this time banished the kingdome; wherfore the Provinciall had recourse to the Generall of the whole Franciscan Order, as the competent judge, presented unto him the state of the busines, the groundes and statuts of the province of Ireland, and though the aduerse partie left noe stone unmoued, or any way untryed, for the continuance of proper illegall jurisdiction, lite pendente, the Generall of the Order was deade, and, as the custome is, a vicar-generall was by the elective members of the said Order in his place subrogated, with the same omnimoda potestas as his predicesor, whoe was allsoe enformed of this suite, and its circumstances; wherupon, upon maturitie and deliberation, did decide the said controuersie by a publicke instrument, under the broad scale of the Seraphicall Order, for the institution of a newe comissarie in the province of Ireland, accordinge its lawes and

Plaut.
Tacit. an. l. 10.
Lucan. l. 10.
Livi. l. 22.
Thucyd. l. 7.
Thomas Mac
Kyernan's
suite against
Caron.

1650

constitutions, comaundinge Father Caron to quitt his said furall authoritie. It was written the first of January, 1650, which is the first day of the yeare accordinge the newe or Gregorian computation ; here the said instrument followeth in Latin.

606.
The Vice-
Generall of the
Orders.
Commission
disannullinge
Carons
authoritie.

Fratr. Eu-
genius
Fildeus, Co-
missarie visi-
tator.

Frater Daniell A Dungo, totius Ordinis Minorum Stricteris Obseruantiae Vicarius Generalis et servus, Dilecto nobis in Christo, Patri, Fratri, Eugenio Fildeo, nostrae Provinciae Hybernicae, etc., Patri, Salutem in Domino, etc.

Quandoquidem immineat tempus destinandi commissarium qui provinciam nostram Hybernicae visitet et capitulum provinciale, cui nos nequimus interesse, possit celebrare, propterea nos Paternitatem vestram, nobis inter alios a toto Diffinitorio, juxta predictae provinciae consuetudinem, unum inter propositos et nominatos in commissarium visitatorem eligimus et instituimus : omnem tibi facultatem tribuentes, quam hujusmodi commissariis visitatoribus provinciarum nostrae ordinis statuta concedant, et autoritate praesidendi cum voto in capitulo provinciali per te celebrando tempore debito, aut alio breviori tibi bene viso : Ita quod non tenearis expectare lapsum triennij ab ultimo capitulo computando. Quia vero propter magnam locorum distantiam, antequam haec nostrae patentes literae illuc perveniant, varij casus, sive mortis, sive morbi habitualis, sive alterius inevitabilis impedimenti possint oriri. Hinc duximus 2º loco substituere Patrem fratrem Jacobum Tyrrellum, concinatorum et guardianum et 3º Patrem fratrem Bernardum Eganum, a vita et prudentia comendatos, ac similiter a toto Diffinitorio nobis propositos. Ita quod defectu vel impedimento primi, secundus in omnibus supradictis succedat ; et 2º tertius cum omnibus facultatibus, praeheminencijs et privilegijs quibus solent commissarii visitatores potiri. Cuicumque ergo vestrum ad quem spectabit hoc munus obnixè comendamus ut omnia in charitate fiant, ut arguat, obsecret, increpet in omni patientia, et doctrina, officia pro meritis distribui curet, simultates extinguat, mutationes, et dissensiones nationum procul faciat, et summopere invigilet ne fratres rebus politicis aut secularium negotijs, vel magnatum aut imperantium ministrorum arcanis, aut civili gubernio se immisceant, sed intra professionis suae limites et regularis status metas se contineant, reddentes Caesari quae sunt Caesaris, et Deo quae Dei sunt. Praecipimus autem, et sub poena privationis vocis activae et passivae et inhabilitatis ad Ordinis officia, et excommunicationis latae sententiae, ut huic nostro commissario taliter electo et instituto, omnes obediant eumque reuerenter excipiant. Revocamus insuper omnes et quascunque comissiones hactenus datas vel dandas deinceps Patri, fratri Raymondo Carono, aut cuivis alteri aquovis nobis inferiori, quocunque praetextu revoluentes omnes controversias, lites, et causas ad Patrem vestrum, ut eas examinet, decidat, et determinet, nullus autem audeat has nostras patentes impedire, retinere, aut retardare sub poenis supradictis. Vale, et cura ut pro nobis illius nostrae Provinciae Patres exorent. Datis Romae, ex nostro celeberrimo Aracaelitano caenobio, die prima Januarij, anno magni Jubilaei, 1650.

Locus magni
sigilli Ordinis

Fr. Daniell a Dungo, Vicarius Generalis.
Concordat cum originali. Ita attestamur.
Fr. Thomas Dubliniensis Archiepiscopus.
Fr. Ant. Clonmacnosensis Episcopus.

A letter from Fr. Paule Kinge, though not of one date with the former, yett in 1650. one place, and together arriued; this man is a learned man, Reader of divinitie, 607. Guardian of S. Isidorus in Rome, and Agent for the province of Ireland there; here in Latin followeth his sense touchinge those irregular apostats, Caron and his complices, which was thus subscribed :

Reverendo Admodum Patri Fratri Thomæ Makyernan, Provinciali et Rd. Ad. Pr.
Diffinitori Provinciæ Hybernæ, Ordinis Minorum Sstrictioris Observantiæ
Hybernæ, etc*.

Romæ, ipso die S. Francisci, 1649.

Fr. Paule
Kinge letters
against the
apostat Caron,
and his
adherents.

Considerantes summa ibi scelera perpetrari, sub specie necessitatis, justitiæ et religionis ab operarijs iniquitatis, et maximè a Patre Raymondo Carono, Commissario nuper et imature illuc destinato, qui sub prætextu reformationis, deformavit totum illud regnum, ne dum religionem Seraphicam horribilibus et inauditis scandalis, sæuiens in vos et alios religiosissimos viros, ob nutum hæreticorum, atque patrocians nefarijs apostatis de hæresi et impietate suspectis, prætendens se ad hæc habere plenam auctoritatem, vigentia motiva, et rationabiles causas. Dicimus, in primis Patrem Marchantium negare se dedisse illam, quam et qualem sibi pingit Caronus, sed qualiscunque est statim revocabitur, cum vergat in nostrum, totiusque Ecclesiæ Dei prejudicium et perniciem, ejusque acta, utique enormia et perniciosæ) rescindentur a Reverendissimo Marchantio (vel ipso renuente) ab alijs superioribus. Nec quispiam putet injustitiam fieri, dum hæc tam propere petantur et obtinentur : Siquidem Reverendissimus Marchant inaudita parte, ad instantiam unius apostatæ nimirum Patris Antonij Gearnon, et petitionem unius Episcopi refractorij, nempe Hugonis de Burgo et conciliariorum excommunicatorum, dedit corruptum Commissarium et inordinatam comissionem. O si sciret bonus Caronus qualiter ipse et sui collaterales audiunt Romæ ! Sed non curant effrontes ; tantum abest, ut Reverendus Admodum Pater Frater Lucas eos sustineat, ut nullus magis illis succenseat eorumque dicta et facta excretur ; nemo nervosius se ostendit pro nobis. Hæc scribimus, ne quis vos seducat manibus, verbis aut literis quasi per nos aut alios hinc aut aliunde missis, nequis terreat minis, nam cito sentietis auxilium Dei super vos. Interea autem nullus vestrum dicto Carono obediat, aut vllum cum eo fœdus aut conventionem, sed potius rejicite omnino. Reverendi Adm. Patris Provincialis propositiones ad dictum Caronum summe placuerunt : licet condescenderet plusquam satis, verum intelligimus quare ; habentur ad manus originalia Valesij Barnevallij, et Sweetmani, plena mendacijs condita veneno. Ex his colligitur eorum scopus et finis, machina et malitia, quibus obviabitur ; nihil timendum de provinciæ divisione. Capitulum Generale non celebrabitur proxima ætate ; mittetur Commissarius, quando et qualis erit necessarius et oportunus. Dominus vester, Nuncius, venit breui Florentiam, qui currenti addit calcar equo. Necesse est adjungere cathalogo fratrum interemptorum tempora et loca. Desideratur hic plurimum relatio integra conflictus Benborbiæ et Cloghliæ, simul ac castri Galviensis. Patris Roe causa cadit. Valet et prævalebitis.

Quæ scribit Pater Paulus, Ego, Dionisius Massarius, confirmo et totum meam operam, ut Secretarius Sanctæ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, spondeo.

Concordat cum originali.

1650.

Ita testor: Fr. Thomas Makyernan, Minister Provincialis.
Fr. Paulus King, Sacrae Theologiae Lector et Gardianus Kilkeniensis,
ac illius nostrae Provinciae in Romana Curia Procurator.

608.

Justice was on
the Provin-
cialls side.

All those doe
averr what we
formerly said
of this subjecte.

You may, sir, conceive by both these former instruments that such as adhered unto Father Provinciall were in the right, and such as sided with the ante-comissarie Caron were intruders and factionall apostats, as by the sense of the chiefe superiour of the whole Order (cashinge the said Carons seeminge authoritie) may appeere. By Father Kings addresse you may be accertained that all the clergie of Rome is in the Provincialls behalfe, both Nuncio and Congregation of Cardinalls de Propaganda Fide, as by the confirmation and promise of Sennor Dionisius Massarius, Secretarie of the said Congregation (to the calce of the aforesaid Fr. Kings leter anexed), may appeere. You obsearue allsoe what character he giues Caron and his adherents, which is sufficient abonment of what was hitherunto spoken of them, in this our Discouery. Noe sooner therfore arriued those addresses unto Father Provinciall's hands, then he writes a sumarie therof unto Father Caron, desiringe him to be observant therof; wherupon Father Caron writes the ensuinge answere unto him.

Carons letter
to Father
Provinciall.

Reverende Pater: Accepi hodie copiam subscriptam harum Reverendissimi Vicarij Generalis, quibus revocat omnes comissiones datas et dandas mihi vel alteri per Reverendum Commissarium Generalem etc; non disputabo cum ullo superiore, quin libenter amplectar obedientiam iniunctam, in iis quae non sunt contra animam et regulam. Sed ut ordinate procedam, peto inspectionem originalis, per aliquem patrem, vel per secretarium vestrum, ut possim satisfacere et Commissario generali et alijs, cedendo curae et molestiae. Cum enim istae literae sint directe in praedictum Commissarij generalis, auferendo et restringendo illius potestatem ordinariam, per ordinem et pontifices duos, illi concessam, idque nullius appellationis mentione facta in literis missis: nec copia ad me missa sit satis authentica de jure: nemo mirabitur ut inspectionem originalis postulem, ut pacifice procedamus, quod et paternitas vestra promittit sub his verbis: originale si erit necesse, vel cupiat, poterit videre. Vale ut optat

Vester confrater et servus, Fr. Raymondus Caronus.

Athloniae, 16 Aprilis, 1650.

The Comis-
sarie-generalls
authoritie
subdellegate.

In this letter Father Caron (though truth is not here by him suggested in the behalfe of the Commissarie-generalls ordinarie authoritie, beinge onely subdellegate of both Generall and generall chapter) sheweth more humilitie then hitherunto was practised in him, since his cominge unto Ireland.

The Provinciall for his further satisfaction did send unto him an authentick copie as desired, nay, shewed him the very originall, whom wee leaue for a while, makinge themselues readie for the future chapter, to be held the next August, and Father Eugenius Fielde, the newe and lawfull Commissarie in actuall visitation of the province, and now turne to our historie, from whence wee digressed.

CHAPTER IV.

1650.

WHEN the stamocke hath receaved plentie of foode, all the heate in the exterior parts hath recourse thither, to dispose it to nutriment and expell what is hurtfull, for nature deffendeth herself rather against an intestine than forraigne enemy (as beinge the more dangerous, either to the health of a man or saftie of a state), and therefore she drawes all her forces from these suburbs of the bodie of a man, to this metropolis of the stamocke. As it fares in this direction of nature, soe stands it in the discipline of warrs, and as in the bodie, soe in a garrison towne, the chiefest forces must be naturall, and of our owne subjectes, for if the major parte be mercenaries and strangers it is alwaies in their power to corbe or crosse our comaunde, and to giue us the place at their owne pleasure

609.
Josep. in. 6.
Polyb. b. 3.
Tacit. Agric.
Polyb. Hist.
1^a fol. 32.
Xen. Crit. l. 8.

Neminem ignotum militem inter suos admittendum.

Wee haue made mentione of Major-generall Huigh Oneylle, that he was comaunded by My Lord of Ormond unto Clonmell, no. 587. Upon his arrivall thither (as an experimented warriour) was not idle, providinge the futurition of a hearde siede, builded braue workes for the defence of that towne, wherof was then governor and chiefe comaunder; he comaunded a partie to Feards, another to Cahire castle, to asiste one Mr Matheus, an uterine brother to My Lord of Ormonde; seatinge himself thus, the enemy did leaguer Feards, and was yelded upon quarter of liues and armes, after some losse on either side; the defendants went to Clonmell, but the enemy marched towards Cahir castle aforesaid; the place was stronge, men, provision, and amunition enough, two stronge grates, a drawinge bridge, a goodly bawon, a large and stronge-walled base courte. When Mr Matheus, the propriator, had notice of the enemies approche, consultinge with the captains about the best posture of defence, agreed not: the Vlstermen, as unto him strangers, were not of opinion to quitt the castle altogether, and fight onely in the outwarde bawon (as he desired), leaste necessitated upon any occasion to haue recourse unto the castle, would be kepte out to their exceedinge prejudice. The gentleman cleered this doubte, promisinge faithfully, as a Christian to both relieue and admitte them upon all occasions to and from the castle. Condescendinge to his Ormondian attestations and quilets, marched unto the outwarde bawon, he and his remaininge in the castle; this Vlster partie was the matter of foure score men, scarce seatinge themselues there, when the enemy in a flourishinge equipage undauntedly marched towards the castle, as confident of noe opposition, but deceaued, for the Vlstermen (noe more then the marlin hauke before the sparowe, or the wolfe before the lambe, the keite before the chicke, or the fox before the hen) could containe themselves before those without offeringe offence, therefore with more then earnest leuell discharged a volly amonge their rancks (beinge an infallible butt), caused the enemy to recoil and looke more narowe unto himself, where both assayllant and defendant fought for halfe an hower, to the eternall praise of the defendants and exceedinge losse of the enemy.

The managinge
of Huigh
Oneylls affaires
in Clonmell.

Feards taken
by the enemy.

A partie to
Cahire castle.

The dispute of
the Vlster
partie and Mr.
Matheue.

His perjurie.

The enemy
and Vlster
fight.

1650.
610.

Gods provi-
dence. A
braue quarter.

The Captains
gallant reso-
lution and
answers.

But obsearvinge the multitude (as now sensible of theire former prejudice) to drawe forward in a maine bodie, and the ordinance plaunted against the defendants, a captaine goes to the castle doore, suinge the gentlman of the castle the compliyanse of his former and past engagment, to giue the souldiers way to enter the castle for theire saftie, and promised to make good the same against the enemie, as not beinge able to withstande the enemie in the foresaid bawon. The gentlman (notwithstandinge his severall attestations to the contrarie) would not by any meanes giue admittance. The captain, too late understandinge, by this perjurous action, that he was betrayed, must now fight or suffer, returninge with this unexpected and sadd answer unto his men, he founde (as God did dispose for the behoofe of those inocent poore men) a trumpeter from the enemie, presentinge himself, desiringe a parley, which was graunted, and did capitulate for quarter, both stoute and honorable was easily graunted, to marche with banners displayed, in bodie and posture of fight, with all theire armes, bagg and baggage, and allsoe a passe or billette to continue in the English quarters for a month, if they pleased, which accepted (and graunted onely to this Vlster partie), marched in the foresaid posture, accordinge orders, towards My Lord Cromwell. His Lordship made much of them, and was pleased to tell the captain that if did continue with him in his armie he would use him well, and giue him a monthes meanes before hande. The captain gallantly answered (to My Lords admiration) that for a world would not chauce places, would rather undergoe any penaltie, nay, the baseest death that could be invented, rather then giue a stroke against his religion, or swarve from his principles. After some conference upon this stringe, tooke his leave, and marched away, refreshinge himself and his men for a weeke in the country, accordinge his said billett, arrived to Clonmell.

611.
Fennell with
Huigh
Oneylle.

Longe siedege.

Greate losse.
Clonmell
siedege.

Cromwells
conceptions.

The doubtfull
conceptions of
Cromwell.

Huigh Oneylle, resident in towne with the matter now of 1500 men and some horse of Major Fennell (whoe still kept with him), he alwaies behaued himself both wise, couragious, and fortunat, against Cromwell and his partie, whoe kept a siedege unto the towne, now almost from Christmase last untill now about May, this yeare, not onely in a defensiuie, but offensiuie waye, with many valiant sallies and martiall stratagemes, to the enemies mightie prejudice, did loose some daies 200, other dayes 300, other 400, and other 500 men: this losse was soe often and comon, that My Lord Cromwell was wearie of the place, that if his honor did not impede his Lordship would quitt the place and raise the siedege; revolvinge this and many other things in his brest, and among the rest, that he was confident of noe reliefe to come to this towne, and therefore a staine in his honor to quitt such a place, beinge for the conquest of a whole kingdome, havinge men enough at a call after soe much losse to raise his siedege, would discourage his proper and alien men joininge with him, thought by those and other such motives, thought to tyre this brave warrior, loosinge dayly men and amunition, without the leaste expectation to be with either supplied (though all this while severally promised by Preston from Waterford), notwithstandinge that My Lord Cromwell obsearved these conceptions to be sufficient grounde to weare out the invincible courage of Major Oneylle, neverthelesse was most desirous to knowe some other way or stratageme to abreviat the busines, studyinge all deuices, none came to any purpose, the

dexteritie and vigelancie of the Major was such, crossinge eache his attempts, 1650. provinge too fatall to the enemie. ;

CHAPTER V.

SPARINGE is a good revenue to a privat man, but to a prince nothinge is worse beseevinge his honor, nor indeede more prejudiciall to his affaires, for there is noe baite to the goulden hooke, nor weapon to the siluer speare, nor forte, be it neuer soe stronge, that can longe hold out against the mullet charged with treasure.

Argenteis pugna hastis et omnia vinces.

My Lord Cromwell tumblinge and tossinge, hammeringe the former motives unto his braines, hittinge upon noe settled resolution, though his armie was both stronge and numerous with the accesse of dayly relife, his managment martiall, his attempts various and valiant, his campe plentifull of both provision, meanes, and all other necessaries conducinge to his intent. Yett the dexter deportment of his antagonist did frustrate and avoide all and singular the former abiliments in such maner that the Lord Cromwell must studie some device other then the strenght of the bodie of his armie; he now remembers that sparinge is not beseevinge his honor, now a prince, noe privat man to fish in the muddy waters of distracted Ireland, is by a golden baite, he intends, insteede of peeke and musket, to use siluer speares, as better weapon, and to charge his gunns, not with brazen bullets, but with treasure, those extravagant unto the theoricke of other martiallists must haue for the execution a good gunner, practitioner in the arte, such not knowne yett unto My Lord Cromwell. At lenght, by the enformation of some of Insicuynes partie, or other proper surmishes, litted upon a fitt instrument of treacherie, Major Fennell, above mentioned, an ambitious and covetous traytor, was sued unto to be actor of the tragedie of betrayinge both men and towne, for his paines was offered £500. The bargaine was made, the condition accepted, bounds for payment, My Lord Cromwells honor engaged; the time of performaunce, on Fennells parte, was the verie next night (after the covenant was indorsed), about 12 aclocke, that he, with such as were of that treason and conspiracie guiltie, would garde such a gate, and would open the same, at the said peremptorie hower, for the intringe of 500 men of My Lord Cromwell, and then to sumulat an opposition to the rest. This concluded upon, the Major-generall, by some inspyringe good ancell (though severally and desearvedly hertofore suspitious of this Fennell), could take noe rest that night, therfore passinge the rounde was enformed that Fennell was more then ordinarie actiue that night, walked where he was, whom he founde verie busie, and whearas all the gate guards should be mixt with two parts of the Vlstermen, the third of the natives, or all of the northeren, by comaunde, as preventinge any such rupture; beside this order, contrarie to this comaunde, and against this solid and well grounded custome, he founde Fennell guardinge that gate with his onely natives (which confirmed his former jealousies of him), asked Fennell what he did

612.
Lucret. 5.
Lucan de
Catone, lib. 2.
Dionis. l. 52.
Plut. in vita
Philipi Mac.

Major Fennell
agreede for
£500 to be-
traye both
towne and
major to
Cromwell.

But how dis-
couered.

1650. there? whoe answered that it was his taske to keepe that poaste that night, the major whisperinge one of his men in the eare, comaundinge him (sendinge by him his glovve for a token) to cause the Tollsher garde to come fourthwith unto him there, in this meane while spoke neuer a worde.
613. The Majors behavior in this busines. The tollsher garde nowe arrivinge, the Major caused the former to be devided unto severall poastes, and to picke out of the respective centries that sett number of men that was alreadie at that gate; this don, he added, as surplus, 500 men; then brings Fennell aside and questioned him for not obsearvinge his orders in the posure of the garde there. Sir, said he, you are like to suffer for it, if you doe not freely tell me the truth. The other knowinge himself guiltie, and beinge sure that his plott was either discovered or like now to marr, did humbly supplicat the Major to pardon him, and that he would truely and really tell him all veritie; which promised, tould him succinctly all the passage as formerly, and withall that the hower was drawinge on that he should open the gate. I doe, said the major, pardon you soe you sweare fealtie unto me for the future, and I will doe the same unto you, all which was incontinently accomplished. Advicinge, therefore, with the rest, what best to doe in that extremitie, they resolute to open the gate the peremptorie time, accordinge the former covenant. The enemye was watchinge his oportunity, obsearvinge the signall, marched towards the gate, 500 did inter, the rest nolens volens were kept out, and all that intred were putt to the sworde; thus did God discover that plott, thus did God discover this treasonable plott under Major Huigh Oneylle.
- The Major and Fennell did sweare fealtie to eache other.
- 500 of the enemye killed.
614. Cromwells trouble and designe. Major Oneylls inventions. Cromwells determination. A braue assaulte and greates mortalitie. The enemye repulsed.
- 615.
- My Lord Cromwell, certified of this preposterous issue of his late bargaine with Fennell, was mighty troubled in minde, and therfore did sende for other armies and greates ordinance, which beinge come, did plante his ordinaunce against the towne walle, with continuall thunderinge of shott, made a greates breache for both horse and foote assaylable. The Major-generall all this while was not idle, for he caused a counterscarfe to be made, with a huge ditche, right oppositt unto the said breache. Then began the assaulte verie fierce and couragious, the defendants (as if invincible, which was the same phrase that Cromwell himself gaue them) opposed soe manly, that three seuerall times they beate the enemye backe. The aduerse Generall obsearvinge the mortalitie of his men, the breache soe large, and they soe often repulsed by a handfull of men in respecte of his multitude, determined to loose all at once, or win the garland. Comaundinge therfore both horse and foote, pell mell, that such a heape in such an occasion was seldome seene, that by the very thronge seuerall of them perished, advancinge forward unawares (both opposition and assaulte beinge soe furious and hott), not obsearvinge either ditche or counterscarfe, fell headlonge unto the said ditche, from whence was noe redemption or possibilitie of recouerie, but there were massacred and butchered. Their seconds and comrads seeinge what hapned, retired, neither the threats of the Generall, nor the bloudie sworde of inferiour officers was sufficient enough to keepe them from turninge tayle to the assaulte, and turned to the campe, leavinge Major-generall Oneylle in the possession of a bloudie walle.
- This siede did continue now 5 monthes. But this assaulte finished, the Major had noe amunition more then what the souldiers did carie in their vandaliros about

them (though Generall Thomas Preston did too often promise a supply therof), wherfore must now looke to himself, to continue before a stronge enimie now exasperate in such tenuous condition as he was at present, is noe wisdom; obsearvinge which, he called for a councell of warr; after many overtures, accordinge the extenuitie of affaires, did conclude to marche away, and invited such of the natives as were both able and well affected (others were there that were deeply engaged in treasonable faction, whom the Major well knewe). Marchinge, therefore, with a dumb drum over the bridge, and towards Waterforde, that parte of the towne was slaightly besieged, and afarr off, and thus the Major deserted Clonmell and went to Waterforde, leaving Cromwell in the siede, as aforesaid.

1650.

Thomas Prestons faithlesse compliencie.

Major Oneylle with his partie marched away.

Cromwell, after the said skirmishe in his campe, troubled in minde, without reste or sleepe all that night, verie early next morninge, walkinge solitarie abroade in sight of the towne, thought verie strange that neither centrie or scout did apeere on the walle or abroade, nor the signall of attune giuen either by drum or trumpett, accordinge custome; weainge all these matters in a dubious waye, to be truly enformed of the silent behaviour of the warrlike defendant, perswadinge himself to proceede of some martiall stratageme, comaunded some scout (as exploratores) towards the towne, whoe durst not venture too farr, and turninge backe to theire Generall without other intimation then what alreadie by diverse inductions of fallible premisses he gathered. This time was spent, untill about ten of the clocke in the morninge, some of the townsmen (as of the Ormondian faction) went to the campe, gaue the Generall notice of Major-Generalls desertinge the towne last night, whoe could scarce beleue it, but further attestinge the same to be true, comended the Major for a brave souldier, and accused his owne retrograde fortune as not able to win one pettie-towne perforce (after all his victories), or wreste it by fine force out of the hands of one single man (whoe properly was noe more compared unto his multitude), soe longe a time without reliefe. Upon this the Generall did dislodge and marched to the towne; the armie intreinge (notwithstandinge the submission of the former informers), the inhabitants were both pillaged, riffled, and plundered, without respecte of persons, or mercie of degree; apointinge comaunders and garrison there, marched with all expedition towards Waterford, to recover there what by Huigh Oneylle he lost in Clonmell; arrivinge thither, sate before the towne, but, scarce seatinge himself there, when receaued comaunds from England to apeere there upon sight. In obedience herof (apointinge Earthon Lord Deputie-generall of the armie), hoisinge saile, went for England; but sure, though fortunat can litle boaste of his service in Ireland, as havinge all he had therin by the distraction and division of the nation, treacherie and faction of corrupt members, and Clonmell for want of amunition, but here not opposed to any purpose since his arrivall to Ireland.

616.

Cromwell mightie pensive.

His opinion of Major Oneylle.

The enimie intred the towne.

A garrison left there.

Cromwell went for England.

Earthon, Deputy.

My lord haue noe cause to boaste of his service in Ireland.

616[a].

Cromwell, dispatched for England, Earthon, his Deputie-generall, began now to rouse himself, and by proper acts to win honor; did leaguer Waterforde neerer home, and another siede he layed unto Ticrohan, Sir Luke Fitz-Geralds house. Major-generall Neylle, arrivinge unto Waterforde, was not permitted to inter the citty for seuerall motiues: the one, that Preston was not soe kinde or loyall-hearted

The poore case wherin Major Neylle was at present.

1650. that he would willingly entertaine this warriour, the other, that the cittie was thought too narrow for both parties, and allsoe that the plague was within the towne. By these and such other surmishes the Major and his partie was kept out, and must continue as centinells or safeguarde betweene the enemie and cittie, neither towne or Governor Thomas Preston allowinge them any meanes or provision other then what they could haue from the centrie, havinge such a stronge enemie at their nose, untill Diego Preston, condoling their case, did share with them one moytie of the garrison souldiers meanes and provision, 18d le price, and some amunition breade, per weeke; wherby mightie reliued, sure the enemie would choose any other to be his neighbour rather then Huigh Oneylle, as havinge by wofull experience a sadd tryall of his courage and deportment euerie day with some bickeringe. By those daylie actions, and by the reepnesse of the plague (as well in the towne, as now in the campe), Major Neylls partie did decrease, wherby the enemie was encouraged to drawe neerer home by incies. The warie Major, obsearvinge his future danger, resolved before he were blocked up to save himself, wherfore adviced his foote to savve themselves the best they could, and betake themselues the shortest cutt towards Limbricke, and that he and Major Fennell, with their fewe horse, would awaye; all which was putt in execution the same night. But next morninge the enemie had intelligence herof, comaunded a partie of horse after him, dispatched, pursued him the matter of 30 mile towards Kilmallogge, but bootlesse, for the Major went alonge to Limbricke; the enemie returned to Waterforde, whom wee leaue for a while, and speake of other matters at this time occurringe.
- The humanitie of Diego Preston.
- The plague forced Major Oneylle to take his course for Limbricke.
- Pursued by the enemie in vaine.

CHAPTER V. [A].

617. SINCE profit began to over-balance honor, men trafficke their freindshipe and protection of money, soe much are these times for gould; but in the goulden times onely religion, justice, and the publicke quiet, were the three jointe purchasers of aide and freindshipe. Wherefore that ould rule ought still stande in force, and when the case is betweene honor and advantage, the publicke negotiator (as well as the Prince himself) ought to haue the equitie of the cause, and honor of his master, in more especiall recomendation.
- Senec. Epist.
Aristoteles
Eth. 8.
Plut. in lib.
Apophth.
Claudianus.

Horat.

Vilius virtutibus aurum.

- Wee left Oliuer Darcy, Bishope of Drumore, both Gouvernor of Karlagh and Vice-Generall of Linster by the subdelegation of Castlhauen Audley (as no. 600 touched)—profit did ouerballance honor in this prelate, and did trafficke religion, freindshipe, and publicke quiet, on the caducat touche of false and inticinge, protection of silver myne—sittinge now (in proper opinion) at the stearne of Linster fluctuatinge-boate; he did invite severall comaunders in Low-Linster, Huigh Mc Phelim, Bryan Mc Phelim, Colonell Arthure Fox, and others, to his partie, and under his assumed authoritie, promisinge montaines of gould and high perform-ance. But the former two Colonells brothers would not comply with his said
- Bishope of Drumore, Vice-Generall of Linster.
- He invites the Byrnes and Kavenaghs, but idly.

desire, as knowinge him to be of noe such stuffe, rather totally giuen to proper advantage, and noe way inclined to the comon good. But Colonell Fox (then in Bryan Mc Phelims company), upon those inticinge invitations, came to Carlagh with 3 or 4 companies of infantry, to adhere unto this Vice-generall; this gentleman for the matter of a month or there abouts was moste wellcome unto the prelate, as longe as money was collected by sundrie warrants caryinge that glorious title, Dromorensis-Generall of the Catholicks of Linster, whoe by those meanes did gather £3000. But to make up a better purse then his warrants or that profitable fiction delenquencie could easily worke, began to make sale of all the provision that was apointed for the defence of Carlagh, aforesaid; but Colonell Fox (a greate stickler of the comon good) as a member of that government did oppose the same with pregnant reasons. The bishope, obsearvinge his conuincinge grounds, and fearinge to prevayle, did simulat to have receaued a letter from the Byrnes and Kevanagh, promisinge to send unto his Lordship, as they were able to comaunde at present, which as he said was 1500 men, but for other occasions could not come themselues; in regarde therof, wished his Lordship to send Colonell Fox to comaunde that partie duringe their proper absence, whom onely they did trust with their men and armes; this was the summ of that forged addresse, and all vaine, illusive, and false, though perswaded the Colonell to be true. This foperie soe prevalent, confirmed by seuerall attestations of the author, wrought soe farr, that the Colonell was possessed of the infallible veritie therof, pursuant therunto, was with his partie comaunded to putt the former surmishe in execution. This good prelate havinge now none to oppose (Colonell Fox out of his sight) began to rife the house, to make sale of all the provision, amunition, armes, and houshold-stuffe of that plentifull and riche garrison. Colonell Fox, accordinge his former orders and instructions, arrivinge to the said comaunders, shewinge the cause of his mission, enformed of the true state of the busines (as above mentioned) and of their owne negative resulte, negotiatinge thus, returned to Carlagh, was not admitted to the castle (which was the onely objecte of this Vice-generall-prelate, to be reede of this loyall man, a true touchstone of his rustie and cankered actions), and soe forced to shifte for himself. All things in the garrison now turned unto money except a monthes provision, and the sooner to embeshell the same did send for Major Oliver Dow[n]gan (a birde of his owne neaste), and brought him with his company to the castle of Carlagh, and apointed Captain Bedlowe (a master-peece of factionall buildinge) governor of the towne and castle; this stratageme soe acted, went himself to the countrie to be more capable (as he gave out) to relieue Carlagh if neede did require; this don (as if he had sent comaunds unto the enemye to leaguer the towne), did afarr of apeere with a small partie, and sitt before it without offeringe the leaste violence on either side, pro uel contra, where he continued the matter of a month in that same posture of civill behaviour, rather expectinge the exhaustinge of that poore and shorte competencie of provisione then any hostile demeanour to force submission, at whose end the castle was yelded for quarter of life, armes, bagg, baggage, a monthes pay to both comaunder and souldier, and a protection to continue without contribution in the contrie (onely this for Dungan and others), whoe not longe after died; thus was

VOL. II.

M

1650.

He invites the Byrnes and Kevanagh but idly.

Colonell Arthure Fox came to him with a partie. £3000 did the bishope leave in the contrie.

Colonell Fox did oppose him.

He writtes a counterfeite letter which was thus in effecte.

Colonell Fox deceived by him.

Drumore made sale of all the provision, etc., of the garrison.

Colonell Fox because true and loyall was kept out by Drumore.

Bedlowe and Dungan intrusted by Drumore to the castle goverment.

His treacherous desertinge the castle.

Oliuer Dungan deade.

650. the impregnable forte of Carlagh yelded to the enemie by Drumore and his government, and this was his trafficke, neuer mindinge the recomendation of the nation advantage, nor proper honor, soe that he made up a purse of money.

CHAPTER VI.

618. As in schoole disputations, where one absurditie is granted infinit others followe ;
 Arist. in 1. 1. 2. soe in those actions of state which are disputed by the sworde, one error begett
 Senec. another, and this a thirde, a worse, especially in those men that will not acknow-
 Lucan 1. 1. ledge their first ouersight, whose, howsoever they seeke to transferr the imputation
 Plut. and blame upon others, the losse and shame lighteth on themselves.

Finis unius principium alterius est mali.

The Bishope of Clogher, Generall now of the province of Vlster, after his returne from Ormonde and Clanricarde (givinge full credence unto their fained protestations of succours) was in his proper countie recrutinge and musteringe his armie (as no. 604 mentioned), begins now to marche unto the fiede with a braue armie, horse and foote, towards the countie of Tyrone, on the side of Loghneagh and Banny ; to secure them partes, seuerall parties were apointed to bringe both garrisons and contrie to obedience and contribution ; all and singular behaued themselues like braue warriors, and specially Phelim Mc Tuhill Oneylle (euer yett fortunat in such expeditions) ; gatheringe now unto a bodie, Sir Charles Coote, Junior, the onely champion for the parliament in Vlster, durst not shewe his face, or attempt anythinge to purpose against this armie but once, and was putt to route.

Braue be-
haviour of the
Ulster armie.

The faithlesse
compliance of
Ormond and
Clanricard.

Ormonde, obsearvinge the composure and strenght of the Vlster armie, and that it proved too stronge against the enemie there, to giue a rubb unto the same (though against oathe and covenant), the armie promised by him and Clanricarde to the furtherance of the Irish service in Vlster, was by this time in bodie marching towards the borders of the countie of Sligoe, where receaued a counter-maunde to turne backe towards Athlone (where himself was then resident), by whom was publickly bruted that all was don to relive Tyrohan by this retiringe armie, which was now leaguered the matter of fiewe weekes, to small purpose.

619. Colonell Sir Thomas Armstronge, comissarie of the horse (whose letter unto My
 The seconde Lord Cromwell (as no. 599 mentioned), did now from Athlone write a seconde
 letter of Arm- addresse unto the same or deputie Earthon, which was likewise intercepted ; and as
 stronge inter- the other was giuen Castlhaven, then comaunder in chiefe of that Athy partie, soe
 cepted and this was giuen unto Ormonde, but bootlesse, for nothinge was don in a busines of
 giuen to that graine, and matter of that concearnment. Such as had notice of those
 Ormond. extravagant proceedings of Royall Generall, in privat conference muttered seuerall
 glosses and jealousies, as not of that temper to divulge any such unto publicke
 Ormonds hearinge, and though frequent and comon, yett privat, but not soe privat that
 speeche in Ormonde did not heare of it. Whearfore, invitinge a kinde of convocation, made
 Athlone. a speeche in publicke audience, tendinge to the disguste of the people, that he

should intertaine Puritants and Protestants to warr, as well against their conscience 1650.
as against their countrymen, and that the Irish nation did not want men of their
owne, but meanes, and what meanes was exhibited unto those strangers of both
religion and country, more properly should be given unto the natives of the same
religion and intentions, then unto alien, whose censuritie was neuer yett attested
by loyall actions, rather the contrarie, by seuerall undeniable testimonies tendinge
to ruine and destruction. Not to be auerse (said Ormonde) unto this comon sense,
too frequente in darke corners handled, I will giue them a passe to goe for England
and searue his Majestie, of whose integritie I am fully perswaded; and to enable
them therunto his Excellencie gaue Armstronge and his regiment full meanes for a
month before hand, payinge unto them all the arreares thitherunto acruinge.
Vpon intimation herof the matter of 400 braue horse in a flourishing equipage did
gather unto Armstronge.

All treacherie
and deceite.

Daniell Oneylle (a mongrell in religion and a creature of Ormonde), with another 620.
100 horse and Armstronge, did marche awaye, simulatunge to enbarke for England,
havinge a faire passe from the Parliament. All things thus readie, one Thomas
Crafton, a gentlman of Conaght, hitherunto searvinge in this regiment, spoke to
Sir Thomas, told him that he was willinge to continue in the contrie, and desired
him to graunte his admittance; wherupon Armstronge, callinge him aside, said,
Mr. Crafton, I love you well and wish you all hapinesse, your motion I approve, and
condescende unto your requeste, but with this provisoe (as you tender your owne
saftie), not to goe with the instant relife to Ticrohan; the gentlman returninge
many thanks for his advice and takinge his leaue. Armstronge, callinge him againe,
and said, Mr. Crafton, be not remisse in what I wish you doe, for I perswade you
upon my reputation I doe it in tender consideration of your wellfare, and if any
your dearest freindes be bounde for the same service, diswade them, as I doe you.
The gentlman, now enbouldened for this courtesie, questioninge the Colonell what
the matter might be that his honor was soe earnest in its behalfe? whoe briefly
answeared, this much, said he, is enough for you to knowe at present, if you be
wise. Mr. Crafton, thus expedited, adviced others (in the like nature not to goe
with the said relife) that were his wellwishers. Armstronge and Daniell, with
their said parties, takinge their leaue of Ormonde, marched unto the siedege of
Ticrohan, made there some staye, indeeringe themselves there, and likly shewingc
their credence, with a full intimation of Ormonde and his adherents advantageous
proceedings, allsoe of the future relife, with all the circumstances conducinge
therunto, which don, marched towards Drohedae, and from thence to the North,
where they joined to Sir Charles Coote against the Irish armie.

620.

Daniell
Oneylle,
Ormonds
creature.

Sir Thomas
Armstronges
speeches to
Thomas
Crafton.

Thomas
Crafton
diswaded
others to goe
to Ticrohan.
Armstronge
and Daniell
Oneylle with
the enemies.

CHAPTER VII.

IN the contrie Carnensis (of Spaine) there is a river that shewes all the fishe in it 621.
to be like gould, but take them unto the hande and they apeere in their naturall Plin. Nat.
kinde and colour. Such are faire promises in his mouthe that would obtaine his Hist. l. 2, c. 10.

1650.
Plut. Apop.
Pollian.
Strabo.
Ovid. Epist.

purpose; bringe them to the touche, and thou shalte finde all is not goulde that glistereth. He, therefore, that will engage himself unto a great action upon promise of greate asistance, if he be not as sure of his friends abilitie in power as readinesse in will, he reckons without his hoste and sits downe with the losse.

Tale nihil timeo; sed nec Medea timebat.
Fallitur augurio spes bona sæpe suo.
Heu potior telis vulnera facta meis.

The Vlster
armie marched
to Tyrconell.

The mistake of
this good
prelat but a
bad generall.

Letherkeny,
in Irish,
Litirceann.

622.

An Irish
druide or
prophett dis-
wadad to giue
battle in the
said place as
omiuons.

A counsell of
warrs resulte.

623.

Henry roe
Oneylles
speeche in the
counsell of
warr.

The Vlster armie, mightie prosperous in their present service (as no. 618 mentioned), after routing Coote, as there specified, in hope of Ormond and Clanricards compliyanse of their promise of reliefe, or additionall armie, marched to Tyrconell accordinge covenant. But by the now encouragment of alreadie vanquished Coote (whoe by the accesse of Armstronge and Daniell Oneylle, as aforesaid, did call all his garrisons unto the felde, and followed the Prelate-Generall), might easily knowe that all is not gould that glistereth, nor all that sweetly relisheth is healthy; if this brave prelate (but, alas, ignorant Generall) did touche with the rememorative of his wittie consideration the paintinge deliverie, and euer false-compliyanse of these obuious-honored-peeres and their former actions, upon such conterfeite promises would not engage himself unto soe greate an action, as not sure of their readinesse in will as he was of abilitie in power; but for his facile beleefe herin, in a matter that soe neerly concerned not onely him but the whole province of Vlster, nay, of all Ireland, I feare me, will be a meane to force him sitt downe with the losse, and by shott with his proper arrowe; marchinge, therefore, arrived unto a place in Tyreconell, by name Letherkeny, where they encamped: Coote and his armie still pursuinge.

When this armie did begin its marche from the countie of Monaghan, a certaine man that had some insight in prophecies, cominge to the Generall, questioned his Lordship wheare did he intende to marche at presente, whoe answered that to Tyrconell; the man therupon publickly perswaded him not to give battle in such a place, naminge Letherkeny, aforesaid; there is, said he, a prophecie of that place, that a battle betweene any, either domesticke or foraigner, and such as will goe from hence thither, will prove fatall unto those; be advised in time, remember what I say, for I assure you this is noe fixion, but a reall one penned by a prime saincte, and therefore to be duely obsearved, otherwise will prove true to your disadvantage, which repeatinge verie often, infusinge it unto the eares of seuerall comaunders, the armie marched unto the same place, where at instant they lodge. But scarce did they take any well grounded settlement when they did obsearue Coote and his armie marchinge towards them, wherupon a counsell of warr did sitt to determine what to doe in such a case. Eache offered his proper resulte, diswadinge the Generall to giue battle, and, specially in that place, rather to remove from thence and tire theemie.

Henry roe Oneylle, the late Generalls onely sonn, a brave warriour, did presse and urge the matter verie hearde, with convencing reasons and learned principles of martiall inductions, diswadinge the battle in that place, rather to remove from thence (as the other comaunders had don), givinge for instances that his father would protraicte time the best he could, use many cunctations, and giue a thousand

wheelles to savve the life of one single souldier (much more would he doe for the saftie 1650.
of a whole armie); by these meanes (and not otherwise) did he presearue (against the
treble force and kankered intentions of three kingdomes) this present armie, that
your Lordship intends now to expose for slaughter (under favor) without rime or
reason other then self opinion. It is noe disparagment unto your Lordship that
you are not versant in those neece quilletts of thundringe Mars, as, not brede in his
academies, rather extravagant unto your beinge of myter-carier or peripateticall
speculation. The theoricke of this arte is it that wins the garland, therfore cede,
and giue place unto practitioners, the Leutenant-generall, and others, that haue
indured the hardnesse of seuerall unfauorable temperatures for manie yeares, to the
spillinge of much proper bloude, cauteriatinge theire bodie-members, and hazardinge
both life and fortune onely for honors sake, to be dexter and not bomblers in this
martiall discipline, which cannot be otherwise acquired (like our pater noster, in a
daie) other then by much labour, paine, and effusion of bloude. Those, then, that
professeth noe lesse in action then what wee here discover to compite the arte, are
to be preferred in judgment before others that treatte onely of it in a speculative
way upon an easie taile, leaninge on a silke cussine (as Haniball did justly
aprehende, in Antiochus his philosopher), though I minde the illusorie controversie
dependinge betweene Vlysses and Ajax, which was injustly doomed against this in
favor of the other.

My lord, you may consider that I and all the rest the comaunders here convened 624.
are as prompte to doe service on the enemie as euer you is willinge to comaunde,
but would haue it don like souldiers, and not like men without arte or experience.
A greate number of our souldiers are wantinge upon other designes, and such as are
extant are wearie by over much toyle and travayle, our horses tyred, lett us then
withdrawe ourselves one halfe a mile off, wheare wee may be secure from any enemie
how stronge soeuer. The contrie is at our devotion, provision wee canot want,
forage for our horses is plentifull, wee will refreshe ourselves, our men will cheer-
fully focke about us, both number and courage will by these motiues dayly
encrease; in the meane while the enemie will either away and disperse, or continue
and begger, either of [*sic*] both will prove advantagious unto us. I hould this to be
more politicke, more consonant to reason, and more conformable to martiall
discipline, then to endanger the onelie armie of this our native kingdome, the
onely suporte under God of our Catholicke religion in this distracted nation, or
comitte our liues and all that is deere unto us unto the sliperie hands and waueringe
doome of neuer constant and variable fortune of a field-battle, whom (if once
broken upon, as my father of hapie memorie in such another occasion did wisely
consider) could scarce euer after be recruited, or come to soe considerable a heade in
many monthes; but if the enemie had here the worste, by the powerfull asistance
of soe potent confederat as the Parliament of England, in actuall possession of three
kingdomes, may easily be restaured unto its former or better beinge. Cunctation in
all ages is laudable in a chieftaine (as we may reade in the Romaine histories, and
is obseruable in the first Cunctator, Scipio Affricanus, and many others). Was not
this that placed George Castriott, otherwise Scanderbeg, in the frontespice of the
booke of fame, and acquired him that eternizinge epitethe, the souldier of Jesus

1650. Christe? What other did cause the admiring world to celebrate unto future ages the imortall name of our late Spinnola in both himself and his posteritie, servinge his Catholicke majestie in Flanders, but cunctation? wherby ouercame without blowes the invincible courage of Grau Mourish, Prince of Orange, and Generall for the Hollanders. Many such may be, (for instances to our present purpose) produced, what alreadie related, with the ominious prophecie of this place where wee now stande, is grounde sufficient for any reasonable understandinge to cede his proper to the contrarie inclininge, and giue place to aliene better experimented. This, sir, is the sense of all and singular those comaunders, nay, of the verie single souldiers and mine (*minimus apostolorum*) dixi.
- Hitherunto his speeche.

CHAPTER VIII.

625. ONE mischiefe or losse comes seldome alone, but followes like billowes, one in the necke of another; in which tide of misfortune men are in fewe daies more overwhelmed with the waues of damage and trouble then they can (after) free themselues of in the ebb of many yeares. And therefore they crie out on their starres, and raile at fortune, whoe is soe barren of her favours and fruitfull otherwise. Whereas the starres may rather complaine of them whoe are never with any good fortune satisfied, nor by many disastrous accidents warned. But wise men (in this sense) doe governe the starres:

*Finis alterius mali gradus est futuri.
Sapiens dominabitur astris.*

- The self-opinion of the Bishope-Generall of Vlster.
- This unciull language did dazle the views of those warriors.
- The Bishope-Generall, attentive to those pregnant reasons, and, though otherwise learned, not capable to render any proper to the contrary, rather usinge a peremptorie authoritie, framinge his present expressions unto a willy-prerogative power of bardninge omittinge all martiall groundes or legall objections of a well disciplined field comaunder (wherof was ignorant) styred onely by destined fate—said that the induction of all the former resulte was noe way sutable unto the courage of braue souldiers, rather unto the dastardlike behaviour of such as feare to be eye witnesses of the least effusion of proper or alien bloude, or venture the hazarde of an honorable attempte as not to receave in exchaunce a litle scarr (though such be the high repute of a souldier). This corrosive language, more penetratinge noble hearts then any Vulcanian stile, did soe distemper the warrlike deportment of these heroes that, though euer yett undaunted, were soe farr beyond the limitts of reason transported, that, oblivious of all militarie advantage, or indifferencie of either grounde or element, puttinge themselves in a distracted posture of battle, where their horse could scarce relive the foote—both winde and weather was not their freinde—with these unparallelled inequalities and disproportioned advantage, both the foote began the skirmishe on either side. Phelim Mc Tuhill Oneyll with the rest of his foote brauely behaved themselves; the enemye foote, if able to doe it, would flie from that furie, but could not, for their proper horse did both second

and keepe them in actione, otherwise would turne taile, which was the occasion that the enimie foote fell downe deade as thicke as haile in whole regiments. The enimie horse, obsearvinge the inequalitye of the foote and the mortalitie of their foote, began to rush unto the Irish foote, whose by the multitude of both horse and foote now overwhelmed, but not of force to putt them out of countenance, or to shewe the leaste signall of either retreat or flight, intire regiments were there present killed; all the Irish horse, as well for want of ground as for beinge devided of managment, was all the while idle spectators of this bloudie cathostrophe.

Whiche, when Henry roe Oneylle obsearved, though not appointed for reseat or chiefe officer of the field, nor any to whom any such was intrusted, rather by an inative propension to acte warrlike feates and to relive his now distracted followers and comrades, rushed amonge the enimie like a lion amonge the inferiour beastes, or a wolfe amonge a hearde of inocent sheepe, a marlin haucke amonge a multitude of sparowes, a fox amonge geese, or a lansado bull sett at libertie from his fatall yoke by his ceruicall strenght, suche a hauocke he made of all that came in his waye, and, though too late, drove out from the maine force of the enimie (by proper interposition) such as surviued of his in the battle, caryinge them off from the field in a most honorable retreat; but the enimie horse followed in heapes, beinge yett fresh, and the Irish wearie. Henrie kept the reare of his partie rather like a gyant then an ordinarie man. At length the enimie, fully perswaded the maine of his victorie to depende either of the lif-restraint or death of this onely warriour, fell therfore upon him with such a resolution, though with greatesse and forcing quarter of life, was taken prisoner, which taken, all the rest, discouraged, either fled away in good earnest or were there slaughtered, which was to the most of them in that season indifferent to liue or die.

Sir Phelim Oneylle with a partie tooke his course for Tyrone, and soe beguiled the enimie. The Bishope-Generall (the occasion of this lamentable scene) and Lieutenant-Generall Ferrall, with the matter of 200 horse, goinge both daie and night for 24 howers the way of Fermanagh without meate, drinke, or rest, both horse and man tyred, next morninge in that poore plight were discovered and noted in that sadd condition by one [blank] Maguire, a gentleman of the countrie (O inhumaine treacherie!), poasted to Iniskillin garrison, gaue notice there of the distressed deportment of the fugitive Irish Generall; facilitatinge in the best language he could the surprize of that wofull partie by a farr lesser number, as out of breath and courage, both beaste and man, by those surmishes, he edged on the enimie garrison, whose made up the matter of a 100 horse, a sufficient number to quell the alreadie vanquished behaviour of this starvlinge and forlorne partie; advancinge therefore towards them (whose overtyred steedes could scarce carie their masters), an easie taske, fallinge upon them, incapable of the leaste resistance, the Prelat-Generall was taken prisoner and wounded, the Lieutenant-Generall narrowly escaped, wounded; verie fewe escaped, but all were either killed in the same place or taken prisoners, and soe caried unto Iniskillin, where continued upwards of two monethes, at the expiration wherof was hanged and quartered by Sir Charles Coote.

The prisoners taken in the fiede, Henry roe Oneylle, Sheane O'Kahan, that was hertofore Major-Generall, Phelim Mc Tuhill Oneyll, Colonell, and others were caried

1650.

Letherkeny
battle.The courage
of the Irish
foote.But, woe,
overmatched,
slaughtered.

626.

Henry roe
Oneylls be-
haviour.Henrie cir-
cumvented,
forcing quar-
ter, was taken
prisoner; all
the rest fled
away.

627.

Sir Phelim
saved.The Generall
and Lieutenant-
Generall in a
poore con-
dition.One Maguire
betrayed them.The Generall
taken prisoner.Lieutenant-
Generall
escaped.Prelat-Gen-
erall hanged
and quartered
by Sir Charles
Coote.

628.

1650. prisoners unto London Derry, beinge sure and certaine to be soone released (if the lawe of armes or nation obsearued), either by ransome or exchange, as beinge legally quarter-promised; all the captains and other officers of the armie, except verie fewe, were on that field killed; of the verie Ferralls was there killed 18 captains, beside under officers, and Roger Nangle, major of that regiment; of comon souldiers 3500, all the chiefe comaunders (except the Lieutenant-generall, Sir Phelim Oneylle, Bryan roe Oneylle, Con backagh Oneylle, Alexander Mc Daniell, Owen O'Doghardy, Meylds Reylye, Sheane O'Kahan, and fewe others), were there miscaried. O fatall destinie! this armie, euer yett victorious by the industrious vigelancie and vigelant industrie of Generall Owen Oneylle of famous memorie, by the ill manage of one man too much given to his owne opinion was now miscaried, nay, without divine operation, devoide of all humane understandinge, for ever destroyed, such as the present losse was noe lesse to be expected upon the death of the Catholicke Generall, for one mischiefe comes seldome alone, but another comes as followinge in the necke of other. This misfortunate tide of troubles and fates did overwhelme this braue familie of the Neylls in such a manner that the ebb of many yeares is not of force to restore them to theire former beinge. It was bruted that Henrie roe Oneylle for a certaine summ of money was to be ransomed; his wife Elenor, Sir Luke Fitz-Geralds daughter, made herself readie, havinge the said summ, to goe in person to ransom her beloved husbände. But, alas! notwithstandinge his quarter and the former relation of his enlargment, was by the unchristian and tigrish doome of that thrice-cruell butcher and humane bloude sucker, Sir Charles, beheaded, and the rest his co-prisoners executed in disrespekte of all humane and divine lawe. This bloudie scene was acted in Londondery on the [blank] of July, 1650, whoe ingeniously pleaded for his life, alleadinge it to be against the lawe of armes and nations to execute him or any other taken upon quarter of saftie faithfully promised in the field by an impowered comaunder, though the taxation of ransomes in the behalfe of all and singular militarie members be laied downe by the lawe and use of nations and armes, yett we are content you reduce what summ you please for eache of us, either to continue your prisoners without baile, or paye the same, or some of us for the whole, as you thinke fitt; if this will not please you, you may call to minde what service my father and meselfe haue don in your behalfe, wherby you were raised to this now height wherin you glorie; how by the same action we are by our verie best friends now the lesse condoled, as conceitinge that to be the grounde of our now downfall; how tender you were of my saftie then; how inticinge to baite my affection; how often with alluringe demeanour did you call me by the mellifluous name of your owne sweete brother Hary, nothinge pleasinge unto you duringe our aboade here then without my presence and likinge; when I smiled you thought yourself then engaged to doe noe lesse, soe that in all my actions you seemed to be transformed in me; you may call this to minde, and that I am still the same man, though now your prisoner, the same you aime at then by love baite, now by fine force you haue accomplished. Wee are both by the sympathy of deportment souldiers of fortune, whose constancie is neuer yett truely ballanced, whose extremities or extreames haue neuer mette in one center, nor continuance did touche one period of well settled stabilitie; if all

Some caried to
Londondery.

Losse there
4000 killed
in all, beside
chiefe co-
maunders.

Henry roe
Oneylle and
his co-prison-
ers beheaded
and hanged.

His speeche
before his
death to Sir
Charles Coote.

these be not sufficient motiues to cause you recante your bloudie doome, or to incline your hearte to be more clement unto the life of a quondam friende, here I am, disclaiminge in all your fauour, and doe onely apeale unto God Allmightie for the iniquitie of your alreadie past censure, to giue you the same measure, onely I desire (if you be soe cruell towards yourself as to undergoe that rigorous judgment of the all seeinge Judge incident to the spillinge of mye bloude) that you giue life unto those other inocent persons, my co-prisoners, and revenge your hatred in the effusion of mine, which is recompensable to what hatred you may haue. To all this Coote answered very brieft, if your father and you haue don me a courtesie I payed you for it, and therefore doe not trouble yourselfe, my judgment shall passe, and there is an end, which was done as formerlie.

1650.

His charitable
requeste, but
inhumanlie
denied.

That martiall theater, Vlster, the onely suport, in humanis, of this whole kingdome, by the successiue death of this most noble familie of the Neylls is now left a relicte dowager of moane and griefe, both daie and night deploringe; her beauteous cheekes besmeared with saltrie teares, none of her best beloved now founde to comforte; all her friends have turned, and chaunged sense to be her foes; the churche of God is turned unto a wilderness; noe tritinge pathes to holinesse, the ministers of Gods worde, houllinge, the lily-coloured-virgines, squalide, her litle tender babes, by the enemie brought unto captivitie before her eyes, is now deuoid of all comelinesse; its warriours (such fewe as survieued) without strenght or courage, flyinge from the verie sight of a fewe enemie. How peremptorie doe the enemie apeere, shewing himself as cruell as a tiger and as bloudie as a bastarde lionesse, givinge lawe unto all the territories brought into subjection by the former victors. And though now overcome, vanquished, buried, and deade, by the iniquitie of the times, perfidie and treacherie of Ormond, and unparalleled cruelty of Coote, lett none perswade himself that God haue forsaken that familie; yett for a time will, to theire correption, punish them, as offended for some lawe transgressions, but sure will after be reconciled to his servants, whoe haue so well desearued of his religion, that since it was planted in this nation did neuer wage warr other then for its puritie, nor euer made peace with the opposers without religion beinge his basise, which is a particular honor of that noble and Macheyan familie; lett none therefore perswade himself that God in his diuine wisdom and incomprehensible providence will giue waye unto the anihilation of soe worthy and benemerittinge a stocke, soe often and seasonably wattered by the tender brest of holy churche for its filiall obedience therunto, rather resuscitate the withered and rotten bones of those true Israelitts, to plant anewe the luster and splendor of holy religion, if other seedes therof did not existe, as unto that sept onely reseeded; the omnipotencie diuine is humbly supplicated to graunte gratically with speede and eternall blish to such as wee treate off here.

629

Threnorum
primo.The moane for
the familie of
Oneylle.

2 Mar. 1. 7.

Amonge the rest that was killed in the foresaid field was Owen Shiell, doctor of phisicke, and sonn to James O'Shiell, a natue of the barony of Moycashell, in the countie of Westmeathe, whoe was married to ould Captain Tyrrells daughter, by name Cate. This Doctor Shiell was absolutly the verie best of that science in the 3 kingdomes, for he studied that facultie in the Uniuersity of Paris in France. Beinge to receave his graduation, suspectinge (accordinge dispersed rumors) the

630.

An abridgment
of Doctor
Owen Shiells.
life and death

1650.

An abridg-
ment of Dr.
Shiell's life.

same to be some what laxat or favorable in the conferringe therof, tooke his course for Lovaine, as more neece and obstruce in such points, where the Universitie constitutions did require the partie supplicant to finish his tienniall studie there, to be truly certified, not onely of the parties capacitie for desearvinge of his doctorshipe, as allsoe to enable the Universitie members (by his continuance duringe the said time) to beare testimonie of his laudable conuersation and practise; this much, upon his intimation, was notified unto him, wherunto he willingly condescended, finishinge, therefore, there his course pursuant to the locall custome, now devoide of all jealousie of examination, how rigorous soever; the apprehension of Padua Uniuersitie in Italy, the onely phenix in Europe of the said facultie, harbouringe in his breste, and nothinge did sute with his engenious deliberation other then to receave his graduation there, as farr more honorable, of better speculation and theoricke. To this nurserie of Gallien phisicke, and prime angular-stone of anothemies, addressed himself, where arrivinge receaved his graduation of doctor, to the high repute of all the rest there. And though wanted noe practise of either doctor, phisician, chirurgion, or apothecarie, or herbaliste, all which inatue in him, notwithstandinge continued there for a whole twellmonthe, all the while duely obsearvinge the chiefe practitioners, and momentarie anothemies, and, least any thinge should be wantinge, at the expiration of the fore said time went to Rome, and there for half a yeare was conuersant with the best expositors of both Gallien and Hypocrate. Thus loaden with the choice juice of both speculation and practise of phisicall rules arriued to Flanders, where he was apointed chiefe doctor of the Catholicke kings armie. His cures rather wondered then imitable, was allsoe nominated chiefe of that facultie in the royall hospitall of Macklin, where for 12 yeares had don admirall cures, aboundinge with all kinde of infirmities and maladies, but none escaped his hands without the application of curable salues that either arte or nature could inuente. His name was bruted in all corners, and himself the objecte of all behoulders, not onely for his rare learninge and education, but allsoe for his civill and amorous deportment. But inticed by naturall propension to come to his natiue countrie, puttinge the same in execution, arrived unto Dublin, in Ireland, the yeare 1620, where of his profession did continue manye the best of the kingdome, he unknowen, untill the curinge of a certaine ladie, by all the rest of the doctors there lefte for incurable, whoe was in fewe dayes by this our Doctor Eugenius putt in the true posture of saftie, wherby was narrowly looked for by all patients, and specially such as were by other doctors forsaken, and left as desperat of thriuinge, were by him easily cured, wherby in a shorte time acquired the name of Eagle of Doctors, and the onely scientificall by a supereminent degree in that facultie, which occasioned the best of nobles and gen'rie of Linster and others to apointe him their doctor, payinge an annuall pension accordinge their respective abilities unto him, as well to cutt of all hopes of other aspirers, and to haue him at a call, though by infirmitie noe way necessitated, the said pension was duely payed. Upon this the warr begininge, all such prime members as had any hand therin, and specially such as were acquainted with him in Flanders, as Owen Oneylle and Thomas Preston, etc., could not be without the sense of soe good a masterpeece in matters of high concern-

ment, who searved as chiefe doctor of phisicke in the Linster armie, whearof 1650.
 Preston was Generall, untill obsearvinge his treacherie neere Dublin in time of
 Clanricards engagment (as no. 253 mentioned), as a loyall member of both
 countrie and cause, did relinquishe him, and adhered unto Generall Oneylle, as a
 constant rocke of the same intention, whom he neuer forsooke in all his fortunes;
 but divine providence soe ordaininge, was for a month in the begininge of his
 infirmities absent, which had beene prime motiue (except divine dispositione) of
 the untimely death of that noble Warriour; after whose death this generous and
 euer-faithfull doctor did accompany his sone, Henry Roe Oneylle, untill that fatall
 day of the above mentioned battle, where this brave doctor was killed, as was
 bruted, at leaste noe notice was of his life ever since, leavinge many men and
 women bemoaninge his miscariage, whom God Allmightie keepe in his glorie for
 ever and ever, Amen.

CHAPTER IX.

IN the honor of a greate achievment other men partake with the prince accord- 631.
 inge to the measure of theire place and meritte; but the well or ill orderinge of
 the things achieved redounds wholly to his owne proper glorie or shame. Hee is
 therefore to have a specially care, in the establishment of his newe gouernment,
 that every thinge by reigled accordinge to rule and order, for it is greater honor to
 come off with judgment then to goe on with courage; to use victorie wisly then
 to gett it hapilly; and more glorie to retaine a newe possession then to obtaine it.
 Terentius.
 Salust. ad
 Cæs.
 Curt. l. 4
 Publ.
 Flor. lib. 4.
 Seneca.
 Ovid.

Non minor est virtus quam quærere parta tueri : Plus est seruasse quam quæsisse decus.

One Major Luke Guyre was governor and chiefe comaunder of Ticrohan, a 631.
 true, honest, and reall man, behaued himself verie well, made seuerall good
 and courageous sallies, provinge fortunat with small or noe proper losse, and, to the
 exceedinge prejudice of the enemye, he was within the matter of 600 able men, of
 very good resolution, plentie of amunition and provision in the house, many braue
 peece of ordinance mounted, huge ditches, stronge rampiers and turrets about the
 castle; nothinge conducinge to the defence of the place was wantinge; fidelitie
 and courage was in both comaunder and souldier, as the verie enemye by wofull
 and dayly experience did knowe, in soe much that he was forced to dislodge and
 remove a good distance from the towne, as not of abilitie to indure the frequente
 and deadly thundringe of ordinaunce and manly incursions of the defendants. This
 much was notified unto Ormond and Clanricard, thought it not suitinge to theire
 designe of betrayinge the nation by degrees that such a loyall and faithfull man
 did comaunde soe advantageous a place when all Linster was alreadie in the enemye
 possession.
 Major Luke
 Guires charac-
 ter, Governor
 of Ticrohan.
 600 souldiers
 withi:
 The strenght
 of Ticrohan.
 Ticrohan
 siedre.

Wherefore, Ormond by his authenticke instrument did comaunde Sir Robert 632.
 Thalbot, no. 594 mentioned, to be governor in Ticrohan in Major Guires place,
 a man too often heartofore besmeared in the fescue of treason and disloyaltie, but
 the rather a fitt instrument and governor of this place, soe important for the whole
 kingdome behoofe, whose wife was under the enemye protection, and liued within
 Sir Robert
 Thalbot,
 governor of
 Ticrohan.

1650. 3 or 4 miles to Ticrohan (aforesaid), a strange and inticinge baite to seconde and edge on the never-faithfull brest of Sir Robert to the actinge this treasonable scene: this master-peece and corner-stone of treacherie now arrivinge to Ticrohan to enter possession of his said newe comaunde. But the former governor, fully acquainted with this Thalbotts Linster behaviour hitherunto and now confident of noe better issue of affaires, was verie jealous of him, and, notwithstandinge his power from Ormond, would not obey. But the lady of the house, assuringe him of Thalbotts integritie, yeldinge as motiue of her intimation that he was her owne kinsman, and though otherwise naught, said she, would not betraye me. By these feminian inductions Guire was ouercome, and gaue way to Thalbott to inter possession of his recent incumbencie. The souldiers, rent and distracted, some adhered unto Guire, and others to Sir Robert; the verie lady of the house, though otherwise sage, became of Thalbotts partie, and by his meanes concealed both provision and amunition; noe sallies now used, noe thundringe of ordinance, all former courage of the defendants abated, nothinge spoken off now other then surrender and quarter. By this supine negligence, privat, though knowen treacherie, and carelesse behaviour, the enemie drawes neere home, as confident of the loyaltie of the governor towards him. Guire durst not venture any sallies as accustomed, as fearinge to be kept out for good and all, neither durste he truste Sir Roberts faction to be alone in centries or centinells.
- The lady deceased in Thalbott.
- The change of Ticrohan defence in Thalbotts time. From good to badd.
633. One night (in confirmation herof) hapened that some of the well affected were at the watche, and a lieutenant of Major Guires partie did stande as comaunder in the watche tower, one of the enemie centinells asked whoe was there within; the said lieutenant did answere, that he for one was there. Of whose partie or faction (answared the other) are you? Of Guire, said the lieutenant. Be then warie, said the other, otherwise within an hower hence wee will be there. The lieutenant questioninge, how? tould that the gate would be left open for them at such a clocke. The enformer would not tell what he was, but his language did bewray him to be an Vlsterman, wherupon the lieutenant, in all hast, steppinge towards the gate, where findinge a centrie of his owne partie, and a corporall havinge the keye-gate in his hande, sudainly comes to them a captain of Thalbotts faction, and peremptorily desires the keye, affirminge, with an oath, hee must haue the custodie therof. The lieutenant answeared that it had beene his dutie that night to keepe both gate and keye, and by and by snatched the same from of his own corporalls hands, others of Thalbotts faction instantly apeeringe to asiste their captain in his said pretence. There they began to strive for the keye; all the partie overhearinge some tumulte at the gate, flocked thither, where eache adhered unto their proper and respectiue parties; the watchfull enemie, privie unto all the passadge, the prefixed time of the foresaid blacke designe drawinge on, was readie pointe blanke within the gate. It was like to be a foule peece of busines if the lady of the house did not interpose her gravitie and worth for the cadation therof. Guire and his men by both their vigilancie, with the forementioned intimation of the enemie centinell, overswayed the rest. Though soe palpable a treason, and seuerall others of the like graine were publickly auerred and attested against the said Thalbott, Ormond would not punish him, nay, nor giue soe much satisfaction unto the whole
- Treacherie discovered by an Vlsterman.
- Michael Gaynor.
- A greete mutinie betwixte the well affected and the faction within.
- Guire and his partie thrived.

kingdome lesed as to remove him, rather continue him still in the same and like 1650.
authoritie.

All those treasonable actions brought to this pittifull issue, Gouvernor Thalbott and the lady of the house did dispatche their addresses unto Ormonde, desiringe reliefe of provision and amunition, and though neuer yett reliued any forte, upon receipt of the said addresse did peremptorily sweare to comply with the said request, or perish in its pursuite; provision and amunition onely was desired, for 600 men was there alreadie, but now forced to eate malte. Both gouvernor and lady gaue out that amunition was soe scante that former service was quitt forgotten, that now they onely behaued themselues passiuely pursuant to Ormonds former engagment of relivinge Ticrohan. Castlhauen was apointed comaunder in chiefe for this expedition, and to grace him, Clanricarde and Westmeath were comaunded to beare him company; his armie consisted of 3000 foote and 400 horse, with seuerall voluntiers (this armie was the same that was to asiste the Generall of Vlster, and was recalled to Athlone for the present purpose, as no. 618 mentioned), and with the expectation of 8000 that the Bishope of Drumore did falsly promise to joine with the former upon its first motion, whoe was not of abilitie to make up 20. The enemy was onely 2000 both horse and foote. The reliefe marched, and though they had scarce 20 miles to goe, they spent 4 or 5 daies in arrivinge soe farr; never acquainted the defendants of any their intentions (if haply they gaue not notice therof to Governor Thalbott, which I am sure they did), whoe were as ignorant of it as the man of the moone, untill they sawe a petty skirmish betweene them and the enemy, and the Irish putt to route, all runinge unto the bogg that was neere hand, except seaven score souldiers with their seuerall cnapsacks that ran to the gate (whoe were industriously like to be kept out to the enemy mercie, but by the humanitie of Major Guire and his partie were admitted to inter, and soe saved; this was all the reliefe sent unto Ticrohan, soe ceremoniously acted, soe treacherously thriued, and soe maliciously destined. But obsearue.

The cause (as was publickly bruted) why this reliefe soe ill thriued, and was putt to flight (though two for one of the enemy), one Colonell Nicholas Walle, from a lieutenant of foote raised by Ormond to be Colonell of his life garde, a rank Puritant, kept the reare of sett purpose that daye; noe sooner did he obsearue the Irish in condition to goe through, and the enemy in the verie next disposition, for his small number and tyrednesse to turne tayle, cryed in a loude voice to his men, comaunding them to turne left hand field (the wronge side to acte anythinge, accordinge their former intentions and present posture), which was in very good language as much as to giue ground and save themselues, and the rather they should understande it soe, such as were neere himself (though noe danger did apeere) were the first that rann away to the bogg, wherupon all the rest (except the foresaid seaven score) did followe, and very fewe did miscarie. Castlhauen himself, goinge then afoote with the enfanterie, made use that daye of that unto-ward cutt, but not acquainted with bogg-waies, was tyred, which one Brassall [*sic.*] Fox, a yonge captain of foote, sone to Carbery Fox, obsearued, made halte to carie his Lordship, and leaninge on the captain's shoulder walked on leasurely, conferinge of seuerall matters verie familiar to beguile the time. Amonge the rest, his

634.

Thalbott and the lady did send for reliefe to Ormond.

Castlhauen comaunder of the reliefe.

Clanricard and Westmeath did accompany him.

The enemy posture.

The skirmish of Ticrohan.

Major Guires humanitie.

635.

Colonell Walle treacherie.

A conference betweene Castlhauen and Captain Bassall Fox.

1650. Lordship did question him, whoe might be the man that gaue that fatall worde of comaunde, alleadinge it to be the onely cause of that disaster (which was true). My Lord, answered the captain, whosoever kept the reare gaue that worde. Castlhauen, swearinge a greates oathe, Colonell Walle did comaunde the reare. Canvassing this doubt too and fro, untill arrivinge unto the continent, where the Generall mette the rest of his partie, he called unto him one Fr. Peter Walshe, a Fransiscan apostatt, seuerally touched heretofore, and tould him what Captain Fox said of the comaunder of the reare; the matter was brought to that issue betweene those two, that in regarde it was soe palpable that either must suffer by the lawe of armes, the inocent Captain or the guiltie Colonell, but searched all the corners of theire witte, to free the nocente and execute against lawe and conscience the inocente; the resulte of this heath[en]ize judge and diabolicall ghostly father was, that this should insinuate that much unto Colonell Walle, requiringe him to be enformer against Captain Fox, that it had beene onely he that gaue that worde in the field.
- Peter Walshe,
author of this
murther.
636. The matter soe ungodly hatched did apeere before the impious judge Castlhauen, whoe in the intimation therof shewed himself a meere stranger of the proceedinges, but other suborned wittnesses apeeringe, he caused to aprehende Captain Fox and binde him faste unto a stake, without any legall proceedinges or councill of warr, shotted him to deathe before the whole armie, both Clanricarde, Westmeath, and My Lady Tuitte (aunt unto the said captain), beinge petitioners for his life, could not prevayle, both reare and fronte were eye wittnesse that day of his inocencie, the one because he was in the fronte himself, goinge couragiously one without once mindinge of any such matter; the other of the reare both sawe and hearde the worde giuen and by whom. All cryed out against the injustice and murther of this inocent lambe, and publickly offered to proue the same, but all did not doe; nay, a brother of this captain, Edward Fox, a priest, and some time a captain, pleadinge for his said brothers life, and offringe to prove his inocence as aforesaid, desired to haue the benefitt of a councill of warr. Castlhauen, without feare of God or man, answered, with an heath[en]ize oathe, That if he spoke but one worde more in that behalfe he would as willingly hange him as eate his breade after a longe faste. Clanricarde smootly adviced him not to speake such roughe language unto a prieste: whoe answered, that the said priest was a captain in Owen Oneylls armie; his father, said he, can well spare them both, as havinge six or 7 more. I would wish, said he, with all my hearte, this were the last of that Irish sceptre, after spillinge this much of his venemous poysons. The Captain was executed, without lawe or justice, rather by enemnitie and treachery.
- Castlhauens
answeare unto
a prieste.
- Castlhauens
rancor to the
Irish.
637. Will any man be soe simple, or soe voide of understandinge, as to conceave that those peeres were any way willinge to relieue Ticrohan? they beinge still of the same intentions with Ormonde, whoe industriously doe still continue this Thalbot in comaunde of braue forts and hoults to be fourthwith surrendred unto the comon enemye, which those peeres neuer thought to twarte, rather further, and sett forwarde, as best suitinge to theire principles, whose disloyaltie was too publicke in this same acte, the relife of provision and amunition onely desired, was sent of men, havinge noe such necessitie, onely disablinge the continuance of the deffendants, and to render Thalbotts faction within stronger then loyall Guires partie: which
- Captain Fox
executed.
- The authors
sence touchinge
this relife.

had beene against all knowen practice in martiall affaires, that when a towne or forte is besieged and scant of provision, reason and the lawe of armes doe dictat and prescribe as an infallible rule, to cast out as many persons as are not servicable or behoofull for the continuance of their provision. But to send men unto a forte not necessarie, and provision scant, is rather to hasten its surrender then any way protracte time for its defence, a thinge neuer hearde of other then in treacherous intentions, as here obseyable, for the present relefe did render this forte into the verye imediate disposition of surrender, and Governor Thalbott, to haue his intente, his men are starvinge within, he will not admitte any sallies, though stronger in foote then the enemie, and desperat, could not but thrue.

Thalbott now capitulats with the enemie, goeth in person to the campe himself, in both publicke and privat conference affirmeth not to be of abilitie to hould out any longer for want of provision; pursuant unto this intimation, he starued his men, therby forcinge the well affected to yeld to his motion, whose involuntarie consent obtained, made his conditions, bagg and baggage, with all the ordinance, lines, and other armes, and themselues to be convoyed unto Athlone, accordinge assignation. Ticrohan was thus yelded, the enemie intred the forte, examined all the corners of the house, and the castle where the lady of the house did conveye her goods, expectinge due time for transportation, upon inquirie and inventorie was founde 3 score barrells of wheate untouched, a greate quantitie of powder-biefe, bacon, 19 barrells of butter, a greate heape of cheece, salte, beere, malte, and other corne in abundance, powder, matche, and bullette, a world of leade, all, if well managed, sufficient for 800 men to hould out with honor for six months to come, but all was concealed from the well affected by Thalbotts suggestion, but all now at the enemie deuotion. O braue Thalbott, how dexter you proue for the surrender of all forts and castles under your comaunde, and how hand-tyed to defende any, nothinge like that valiant and braue Thalbott in Henry the Fifts time, killed at the siede of Orleance in France. Thus our Thalbott, a petty attorneyes sone, but a braue instrument of faction and treason against kinge, nation, and religion, though seuerally sworne to the contrarie, and as often perjured, now accordinge couenant marched to Athlone, where Ormond did expecte his arriuall; giuinge accounte of his proceedings, his Excellencie was onely offended because Guyre, and the ordinance was comprehended in the condition of his surrender, which was well proued by their tergiuersation, to send for the said ordinance (beinge their onely of that mettle in all the kinde except Galway, Limbricke, and Slygoe), for they did not send for them in 3 or 4 weekes, untill the enemie had nothinge to acte other then to followe it unto Athlone as hereafter more at large.

But obsearue, noe sooner arrived, Thalbott with his said partie unto Athlone, then charged loyall Major Guyre of treason, and consequently guiltie of death, wherupon the Major was fourthwith arraigned; noe other thinge or matter could be objected against him by those malicious and venomous toades other then zeale of holy religion, loyaltie unto his prince, and fidelitie to his nation (wherof was both judge and enformer devoyde). The matter proved verie hearde with inocent Guyre, as havinge noe indifferencie, mercie, or justice in that antecourte. At lenght, with much adoe, and his guidinge starre soc disposinge, gott the benefitt

1650.

638.

Ticrohan
quarter.Yelded by
Thalbott.Braue quan-
titie of pro-
vision founde
in Ticrohan,
which con-
firmes our
former sense.The English
chronicle.Ormonds
jealousie.Prooffe of
Ormonds
disloyaltie.

639.

Major Guyre
tryed.Acquitted by a
councell of
wart.

1650. of a councell of warr, though not his choice, nor accordinge the qualitie of his person or encumbencie, as in like occasions is admitted by the lawe of armes, but de circumstantibus, all of Ormond and Governor Thalbotts intentions, which any man of indifferencie may judge to be illegall. And though thus selected, as for his destruction intended, yett the divine clemencie soe ordaininge was by the arbitration of his said jurors beyond all humaine expectation acquitted, for God doe not forsake his owne, though brought to the uttermost triall.

CHAPTER X.

640. **Senec.** **Flor. l. 1o.** **Lip Pol. 2.** **Cic. Off. 3.** **Senec. Suas.** **THOUGH** it be true that the statsman, as the steeresman, may shape his course accordinge to the winde and weather of present occurrences, that he may arriue to the harbrough of saftie, saylinge beside compasse, and swarvinge from the directe line of sencere and ouuert dealinge, yett may be by noe meanes, nor for any end whatsoeuer, be false of his faith, or breaker of his worde.

Fidem qui perdit, nil ultra potest.

- The Discalciat Carmelitts have noe fundation in Ireland.** **Fr. Roe, Provinciall of the Discalciat Carmilitts, attorney for the apeale.** Freindly reader, you may (if you please) refreshe your memorie with the apeale made by the malignant parte of the Supreame Councell against My Lord Nuncios excommunication, justly fulminated against all such as adhered unto the Cessation of the Lord Baron of Insichuynes (as no. 355 touched), one Fr. Iohn Roe, Provinciall of the Discalciat Carmilitts of Ireland, was apointed agent to followe and seconde the same in Rome. This Fr. and all his Discalciat familie had noe fundation in Irelande, but what monesteries were extant in this kingdome, dependinge of the said Order, did onelie belonge unto another branche of it, which wee call Calciat or shooed fryers, as ancients, the concessions or graunts of those places beinge made unto those longe before any reformation hapned in the said Order, as was severally proved in favour of those against the other intrudinge branche, by papall bulls and other authenticke instruments, from the generall of that whole Order to all which this fryer and his underlings did prove disobedient and contumax, and therefore obnoxious of seuerall high censures, from both his Holinesse and Fryer-generall of his Order, as aforesaide.

- 641.** **Comitted and to be tryed by the Inquisition.** **Made escape.** Now to indeere himself unto the then government of distracted Irelande, to currie favor that way, and findinge the oportunitie of the present rupture to fishe in this puddle water, did insinuat himself unto the malignant councell, his willingnesse and former discontents easily notified, was apointed attorney or agent with this said apeale (after the expiration of the time limitted by My Lord Nuncio) to his Holinesse, as practitioner in such affaires. Whoe arrivinge to Rome, was comitted to safe custodie, for this and seuerall other trespasses of the like graine, and was to be tryed for life and death by the Holy and Supreame Inquisition, where continued upwards of a yeare. Some freindly winde blowinge by the remissnesse and lenitie of his keepers, havinge more libertie then the high-haynous of his former and present irregular transgressions imported, made escape, and for a while lurked in

Rome, privatly workinge the reconcilment of his benefactors with My Lord Nuncio, and negotiatinge in the behalfe of his proper order, all faylinge (the injustice of his cause was such), arrivinge unto Ireland, landed at Galwaye; the faction with open eares herof enformed (though well acquainted with his proceedings in Rome), notwithstandinge, soe desirous they were to brute the contrarie, therby to beguile innocent soules, that eache of them thought he caried all hopfull newes, and sutable to purpose, many were busie in sendinge theire severall addresses to knowe theire doome in that greate suites behalfe. Amonge the rest, the Bishope of Drumore, a prime pillare of that destructiue and ever fadinge buildinge against the stabilitie of Peters Rocke, did write unto him, as havinge noe accesse unto him for the present; pursuant therto, Fr. Roe returnes the ensuinge result to his Lordship :—

1650.

He arrived
unto Ireland.The Bishope of
Drumore
writes unto
him.

Most Reverend, and my verie deere Lord,

There is none but is curious to knowe what paste in Rome touchinge the censures and apeale; your Lordships may heare many reports, hapily not soe true, and therefore I will briefly lett you knowe that on the 25th of January there was a congregation held about those affaires, in presence of his Holinesse, where he decreede to take away the censures, and to this end did send faculties to some prelates of this kingdome, with instructions in what maner, and a pastorall letter; hapilie fewe wilbe contented with the maner, and those lesse whoe most ought to be contented to any thinge, after the abuse don to the Popes Ministers in sendinge him awaye as the Nuncio was sent, which indeede was hainously taken for the maner of it; the canon, contra ejicientes, etc., was much urged, and if nothinge but theire owne consciences it may be sufficient. Lett this suffice for the present in acknowledgment that I am allwaies, Most Reverend Lord,

642.

Fr. Roes letter
unto Drumore.This is theire
thrivinge in
Rome.

Loghreagh, the 10th
of Augt. 1650.

Your faithfull servant,
(Subscribed) Fr. Iohn Roe.

For Fr. Oliuer Darcy, Bishope of Drumore.

You obsearve what comforte brings this mercurie unto his missionarists from Rome, viz., that they should be pleased with any maner or condition wherby the censures were taken awaie, as havinge exiled the Popes Nuncio contrarie to the canons of holy Church, and many other, to the curious reader observable in bulla Cœnæ Domini (no. 485 mentioned), but this from theire proper atturneye, and severall others from good and authenticke hands, will not satisfie this schismaticall broode, rather like heard-hearted Pharao, stickinge to theire obnoxious principles (theire fortune, though come to the last ebb of its tyde), and though dayly had a sadd experience of the destructive effects of former excommunication, the bloudie and merciless enemye sword brandized over theire heades, the dyrefull ministers of Gods wrathe, famen and plague, displayinge its colours, first in Galway, from whence My Lord Nuncio was banished, and leavinge his malediction and curse particularlie unto Sir Richard Blakes house, to the worlds testimonie was soone after the very first in all the kingdome that was infected of that contagion, whence did flowe, as from a channell, the divine vengeance of high power unto the

643.

Theire stiff-
necked-heartes.The censures
effecte.Sir Richard
Blakes house,
the first in
Irelande in-
fected, and
why?

1650. respective provinces of Irelande (except Vlster, as not guiltie of either censure, curse, or ejection of My Lord Nuncio) with mightie mortallitie, to the desertinge not onely of houses and homes but cittyes and whole shyres; notwithstandinge all this, this malaparte broode will not in satisfaction and redresse of these haynous offences, either to Gods minister, their proper, cauteriated consciences, or the world, once cry mercie of God, or say, with the prodigall child, peccavi; rather, like reprobate Cain, destined for destruction, passe the time in jolitie, not once thinkinge of the eternitie to come, or the present fate of both religion and nation.

CHAPTER XI.

644. ALL things have their time. The Romaine that wondered at those peoples folly
 whose played with their litle doggs and munkeyes, havinge litle children of
 their owne to play with, what would he haue said to such whose pursue their
 delights with greatest earnestnesse when they are farr engaged in busines of
 greatest consequence? for wee should deale with our pleasures as with litle whelps:
 Soc. 1. 3. never play with them but when wee have nothinge to doe, or for want of better
 Tacit. Hist. 4. company. That prince, therefore, that prefers the sweete of his delights before the
 Aristoteles. care of his saftie, and loves his ease more then his honor, makes his enemy the
 Pol. lib. 5. stronger to offende him, and disables himself of all meanes of defence. These appetits
 Plut. contra that are rather liquorous of toothsome then wholesome things are dangerous, as
 voluptat. well in states as mens bodies. Tu civem, patremque geras, tu consule cunctis :
- Sil. 1. 15. Quippe nec ira deum tantum, nec tela, nec hostes,
 Quantum sola nocet animis illapsa voluptas.
- Sir Robert The Marquesse of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant and Generall Governor for his
 Thalbott in- Majestie in this distracted kingdome, did very well obsearue the publictie of Sir
 trusted by Robert Thalbotts treacherie, in the surrender of all such forts and hoults as came
 Ormond to the under his comaunde (as seuerally hertofore mentioned), and now haueinge non of
 castle of any repute in the whole province of Linster, other then the castle of Athlone, the
 Athlone. onely keye of both Linster and Conaght, investes this Thalbott with the power
 and managment of that impregnable castle, with a jointe comission with Dillon,
 The defence of Costillogh, and his uncle, Sir James Dillon, onely Conaght was yett free from the
 Conaght. enemy; the Shanon, a mightie deboiste riuer from sea to sea, almost runinge
 betwixt it and the other 3 provinces, was a sure sconce, as long as Athlone did
 houlde, but those gentlemen intrusted, as aforesaid, was in the imediate disposition
 of surrender. Governor Thalbott, though knowen traytor, thus still continued in
 Psal. 113. honorable promotions by Ormonde, was the sole man now in Athlone. O, all
 seeinge God, how are the Irish soe mould-blinde that they cannot see those abuses,
 though visible unto all Europe; eyes they haue and cannot see, witt and cannot
 understande, tongues and cannot speake, a warrlike nation heretofore, now are soe
 cowardly growne to that vile and abjecte condition that they tremble at every
 thinge that sudainly hapneth: the leaste puffe of winde that bloweth, the least

birde that chirpeth, the least bough that shakes, the leaste leafe that wags, the leaste vermin that stirrs, doth soe affright them, that their members are fraught with feare, their faces with palnesse, like men in the fitt of an ague, or shaken with extremitie of could.

Ormond now obsearvinge all Linster to be in the enemie possession, invitinge him further to followe his fortune, he retired to the countie of Galwaye, and seated himself in Loghreagh, in one of Clanricards houses; issuinge dayly his warrants for the leavyinge of seuerall gabells and aploftments to the impouerishinge of the said countie, by this meanes the leaste he forced in this very countie, 18 thousand pounce sterling for proper use (beside billett and throughfare of the maine of his armie gatheringe about him), the Lord-leutenant, Clanricarde, Castlhauen, Costlagh, and Taaffe, behavinge themselves as merry as euer people could, followinge both lust and pleasure, in as high a straine as euer Nero did upon notice of Vendix, his revoulte in Fraunce, carroushinge and playinge vast summs of money every night; this had beene their pastime, when the reste of the kingdome was bleedinge under the heavy yoke of a mercilesse enemie. The jolitie and merriment of those peeres, when the kingdome intrusted unto their care is gaspinge and in combustion, doe evidently demonstrate their insensibilitie therein, rather minister cause of comforte and solace unto them, his armie flockinge about him, where noe danger was apprehended, noe opposition could be giuen, nor rescue offered, nor any service in the behalfe of their quondam confederats, and present benefactors pretended, leavyinge all Linster to the mercie of a proude enemie incursions; the fewe castles and hoults that did yett stande in Linster, by the enemie untouched, must paye whole meanes unto Ormonds armie (though existinge in Conaght, as aforesaid), and neuer givinge the leaste rubb unto any enemie proceedings in their behalfe, or once facinge any to that purpose, though single he weare stealinge and forcinge the poore inhabitants goods, with lesse humanity then the verie enemie haue euer don, and though one village in a whole barony, or a baronie in a whole countie, or a countie in the whole province, must be answerable for the payment of the whole summ accruinge in former times on these respectively unto the armie to their utter destruction, wherby forced thowsands to submitte unto the enemie, alias most faithfull unto the cause in agitation. Thus he preferred his delights and pleasures before his proper honor and reputation; as for his loyaltie to his majestie, it is more then publicke, by those actions it did cracke. What then? Will any true-hearted man, to either religion, kinge, or nation esteeme of such a personage well affected to either? or with reasone to be continued in the same authoritie as at presente? whose retirements are more like cogging gamsters resortinge, then the civill presence of a Lord-leutenant; an apprentice of drunkards, a baudie comonaltie, a shelter of robbers, a safeguarde of theeves, a sinagoge of perjurie, a schoole of all-gatherum-vices, a secte of love-familie, a congregation of banckroutes, a conventicle of treacherie, a shope of venomous druggs, the hamper of iniquitie, the speare of injustice, the center of envie and ambition, the circumference of disdain and faction, or what other thinge idle or vicious can be said, was hammered (as in its genuine forge) in that pernitiouse laborinthe; what then will both church and laitie be soe senclesse as not to disclaime against such a Nero, and monster of

645.

The epicurious and cruell behavior of Ormond and his peeres in Conaght.

The destructive and licentious proceedings of Ormonds armie towards the nation.

By these meanes he forced the poore natives to yeld unto the comon enemie.

The description of Ormonds habitation.

Compared unto Nero.



1650. all civill behaiour and goverment. The prelates of holy religion in this kingdome now languishinge (though as heretofore severally specified) distracted, pursuant to Clonmacnose union, did now meete in Jamestowne, in the countie of Letrim, endeavouringe to keepe a litle breathe in it by their spirituall salves. Sittinge, therefore, the 12 of August. of this instant yeare, haue unanimously declared against Ormonds continuance in goverment, as obnoxious of 16 articles of treasone against his Majestie, and this his kingdome of Ireland, fulminatinge allsoe an excommunication against all such as did adhere unto him after publication and notice therof, which is as followeth.

The congrega-
tion of James-
towne.

CHAPTER XII.

A Declaration

646.

Of the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelats and dignitaries of the Secular and Regular Clergie of the kingdome of Ireland

Against

Theire sense
against Or-
mond and his
goverment as
followeth.

The continuance of His Majesties authoritie in the person of the Marquesse of Ormond, Lord-leutenant of Ireland, for the misgoverment of the subjecte, the ill conducte of his majesties armie, and the violation of the articles of peace, at Jamestowne in the convent of the Fryers Minors, 12 August, 1650.

The Catholicke people of Ireland, in the yeare 1641, forced to take up armes for the defence of holy religion, their liues and liberties, the Parliament of England havinge taken a resolution to extinguishe the Catholicke faith and plucke upp the nation roote and branche, a powerfull armie beinge prepared and designed to execute their blacke rage and cruell intention, made a peace, and published the same the 17 of January, 1648, with James Lord Marquesse of Ormond, comissioner to that effecte from his Majestie or from his royall Queene and son, Prince of Walls, now Charles the Second, therby manifestinge their loyall thoughts to royall authoritie. This peace or pacification beinge consented unto by the Confederat Catholicks when his Majestie was in restraints, and neither he nor his Queene, nor the Prince of Walls, in condition to send any supplies or relife unto them. When all the said Confederat Catholicks could haue agreed with the Parliament of England upon as good or better conditions for religion, liues, liberties, and the estates of the people, there were obtained by aboue pacification, and therby freed themselves from the danger of any invasion or warr to be made upon them by the power of England, where, notwithstandinge the pacification with his Majestie, they were to dispute and fight with their and his enemies in the three kingdomes. Lett the world judge if this be not a non deniable argument of loyaltie. The peace beinge soe concluded, the Catholicke Confederats came censerly and cheerefully under his Majesties authoritie in the person of the said Marquesse of Ormond, Lord-leutenant of Ireland, providinge plentifully vaste summs of money, well neigh halfe a million of English pounds, beside severall magazens of corne, with a faire traine of artillerie, greate quantitie of powder, matche, amunition, and other

to be

materials for the warr. After his Excellencie, the said Lord-leutenant, frustrat- 1650.
inge the expectation the nation had of his fidelitie, gallantrie, and abilitie, became
the author of allmost loosinge the whole kingdome to God, Kinge, and natives,
which he began by violatinge the peace in many parts therof, as may be cleerely
evedenced and made good to the world.

First, the foresaid Catholicks havinge furnished his Excellencie with the foresaid 1.
summ of money, which was sufficient to make up the Catholicke armie of fiftene
thousand foote and 2500 horse, agreed upon the peace for the preservation of the
Catholicke religion, our soveraignes intreste, and the nations libertie. His
Excellencie gaue patents of colonells and other comaunders, over and above the
party under the Lord Baron of Insichuynes, to Protestants, and upon them
consumed the substance of the kingdome, whoe most of them afterwards or
betrayed or deserted us.

That the hoults and forts in Monster, as Corke, Yoghill, Kinsale, etc., were putt 2.
in the hands of faithlesse men, of the Lord of Insichuynes partie, that betrayed
those places unto the enemye, to the utter indangeringe of the kingdome and Kings
intrest therin. This good service they haue don to his Majestie after shokinge
up the sweete and substance of his Catholicke subjects of Monster, wheare it is
remarkable that upon makinge the peace his Excellencie would noe way allowe
the loyall Catholicks of Corke, and Yoghill, Kinsalle, and other garrisons to
returne to their owne home and houses.

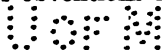
Catholicke comaunders, instanced by the comissioners of trust, accordinge the 3.
pacification, and thereupon by his Excellencies comission receavinge their
comaundes in their armie, as Colonell Patricke Purcell of Major-generall in
the armie, and Colonell Pierce Fitz-Gerald, alias Mc Thomas, comissarie of the
horse, were removed without the consent of the said comissioners, and by noe
demeritte of the gentlmen; and the said places, that of beinge major giuen to
Daniell Oneylle, Esqr., Protestant, and that of comissarie of the horse to Sir
William Vaghan, knight, and after the said Sir William's death to Sir Thomas
Armstronge, both Protestants.

A iudicature and legall way of administringe justice promised by the articles 4.
of peace was not performed, but all practice and proceedings don by paper
petitions, and therby privat clerks and other corrupte ministers enriched, the sub-
jecte ruyned, and noe justice don.

The navigation, the greates suporte of Ireland, was quitt beaten downe, his 5.
Excellencie disheartninge the aduenturers, undertakers, and owners, as Captain
Antonio and others, favoringe Hollanders and other aliens, by reversinge of judg-
ments legally giuen and diffinitivly concluded before his cominge to authoritie,
by which depressinge of maritim affaires, and not providinge for an orderly and
good tribunall of admiralltie, wee have heardly a bottome left to transmitt a letter
to his Majestie or any other prince.

The church of Cloyne, in our possession at the time of makinge the peace, 6.
violently taken from us by the Lord of Insichuynes, contrarie to the articles of
peace, noe justice or redresse was made upon application or complainte.

That oblations, booke monies, interments, and other obventions in the counties 7.



1650. of Corke, Waterford, and Kiery, were taken from the Catholicke priests and pastors by the ministers without any redresse or restitution.
8. That the Catholicke subjects of Monster liued in a slauerie under the presedencie of the Lord of Insichuyne, those beinge theire judges that before were there enemies, and none of the Catholicks (nobilitie or gentrie) admitted to be of that tribunall.
9. The conducte of the armie was unprovident and unfortunat; nothinge hapned in the Christianitie more shamfull then the disaster of Rathmine neere Dublin, where his Excellencie (as it seemed to ancient travailleurs and men of experience), whoe viewed all, kept rather a mart of wares, a tribunall of pleadings, or a greate inn of play, drinkinge, and pleasure, then a well ordered campe of souldiers. Drohedae, unrelieved, was lost by a storme with much bloudshed, and the losse of the flower of Linster. Wexforde lost by the unskillfullnesse of a governor, a yonge man, vaine and undvised. Rosse giuen up, and that by his Excellencies order, without any dispute, by Colonell Luke Taaffe, havinge within heard upon 2500 souldiers desirous to fight. After that the enemye made a bridge over the river of Rosse, a wonder to all men, and understoode by none, without any lett or interruption, our armie beinge within 7 or 8 miles to the place, where 200 musketyres at Rosbarrage timely ordered had interrupted this stupendious bridge, and made the enemye wearie of the towne. Carriage beinge betrayed by the Protestant warde there, our armie afterwards apeeringe before that place, the souldiers were comaunded to fight against walls and armed men, without greate gunns, ladders, patters, shovvells, spades, pickaxes, or other necessarie materialls, beinge killed upon the place about 500 souldiers valliantly fightinge; yett neere Thomastowne, our souldiers beinge of tryed foote, two to one, and well resolved, were forbidden to fight in the open field, havinge advantage of ground against the enemye, to the utter dishartninge of the souldier and people. After the enemye came like a diluge upon Callan and Federt, Cashell and other corporations within the province of Linster and Monster, and the countrie about rendred tributarie; then followed the takinge of Laghlin and Kilkeny, then that of Clonmell, where the enemye, with gallantrie, losse, and resistance, was opposed by Huigh Oneylle; lastly, Ticrohan and Katarlagh, two greate pillars of Linster, shaken downe. To speake nothinge of Ticrohan at present, and other places, was giuen up by orders; Waterforde, blocked up, is in a sadd condition; Duncanan, the keye of the kingdome, unrelieved since the first of December, is left to be giuen up and lost.
10. That the prelats, after the numerous congregation of Clonmacnose, where they made declarations for the kings greate advantage, after printed, and after many other laborious meetings and consultations with the expressions of theire censeritie and earnestnesse, were not accounted by his Excellencie haue imployed theire power and best dilligence towards advancinge the kings intrest, but rather suspected and blamed, as may apeere by a letter of his owne to the prelats then at Jamestowne, the 2 of August, and words were hearde to falle from him dangerous as to the persons of some prelats.
11. That his Excellencie represented unto his Majestie some parts of this kingdome disobedient (which absolutely denie any disobedience by them comitted), and therby

procured from his Majestie a letter to withdrawe his owne person and the royall 1650.
 authoritie if such disobedience were multiplied, and to leaue the people without the
 benefitt of the peace. This was the rewarde of his Excellencie (out of his envie
 to a Catholicke, loyall nation) prepared for our loyaltie and obedience, sealed by the
 shedding of our bloude and the losse of our substance.

That his Excellencie and the Lord Baron of Insichuyne, when enemies unto 12.
 the Catholicks, beinge verie actiue in unnaturall execution against us, shedinge the
 bloude of poore priests and churchmen, haue shewed litle of action since this
 peace, but for many monthes kept themselves in Conaght and Tomond, where noe
 danger or the enemie apered, spendinge their time (as most men obsearved) in
 playe, pleasure, and greate merriment, while the other partes of the kingdome were
 bleedinge under the sworde of the enemie; this was noe greate argument of sence
 or greefe in them to see a kingdome lost to his Majestie.

That his Excellencie, when prosperinge, putt noe trust of places taken in unto 13.
 the hands of a Catholicke, as that of Drogheda, Dundalke, Trim, etc.; by this
 his diffidence in Catholickes, and other his action and expressions, the Catholicke
 armie had noe hearte to fight, or be under his comaunde, and feared greatly
 (if he had mastered the enemie, and with them the comissioners of trust, or the
 greate parte of them), and many thousands in the kingdome allsoe feared he
 would haue brought the Catholicke subjecte and their religion to the ould slauerie.

Wee will not speake of many corruptions and abuses, as passinge of a custodium 14.
 upon the Abbey of Kilbegan, worth in past yeares to the Confederats well nigh
 £400 per annum, to Secretarie Lane for £40 or thereabouts per annum, nor of
 many other such like to Daniell Oneylle, and other, of an under value, to the greate
 prejudice of the publicke.

Wee doe allsoe notifie to the Catholicks of the kingdome that most of the above 15.
 greivances and breaches of the peace, beinge deliuered to the comissioners of
 trust in February last, that the clergie and laitie receavinge noe redresse or
 justice, the discontent of the subjecte might be removed, noe amendment
 apered after eight monthes effluxed, that the evil still continued that occasioned
 the ruine of the nation. Wee also protest to the whole world, havinge don
 our best, wee haue noe power to remove the jealousie and feares of the people.
 Besides the above injuries, and the violation of the articles of the peace, against
 religion, the kings intrest, and the nation libertie, nothinge apeeringe before
 the eyes of the people but desolation, waste, burninge, and the distraction of
 the kingdome: three parts of the 4 provinces of the kingdome beinge now
 under contribution to the enemie, citties, townes, stronge hoults taken from
 them, alters pulled downe, churches lost, priests killed and banished, sacraments,
 sacrifices, and all things holy prophaned, and all most utterly extinguished;
 armies and greate number of souldiers by them maintained, and the enemie not
 fought withall, those that would fight for them bore downe, and those that
 would betraye them cherished and advanced; finally, noe visible armie or
 defence apeeringe, they are come to a despaire of recoveringe what is lost,
 or defendinge what they hould, and inclininge for the saftie of their liues and
 estates to compounde with the Parliament, perswadinge themselves noe saftie can

1650.

be to any livinge under the goverment of the Lord-leutenant, attended by fatal disaster. For prevention of those evils, and that the kingdome may not be utterly lost to his Majestie and his Catholicke subjects, this congregation of archbishops, bishopes, and other prelates and dignitaries of the clergie of the kingdome, found ouer selues bounde in conscience, after greate deliberation, to declare against the continuance of his Majesties authoritie in the person of the said Marquesse of Ormonde, premittinge this protestation to the world, that wee had neuer had come to such a declaration, but that wee and the people of this kingdome generally dispaire of the kingdome recouery under his goverment (as herby wee doe declare), as well in our owne names and behalfe as in the name and behalfe of the rest of the Catholicks of this kingdome, against him, the said Marquesse of Ormond, havinge by his misgoverment, ill conduct of his Majesties armie, and breache of publicke faith with the people in severall articles of the peace, rendred himself incapable of continuinge the greate trust any longer, beinge questionable before his Majestie for the said injuries and ill goverment. To which effecte wee will joine with other members of this kingdome in drawinge a charge against him. And wee herby manifeste to the people that they are noe longer obliged to obey the orders and comaundes of the said Marquesse of Ormond, but are (untill a generall assembly of the nation can be conveniently called together) unanimously to searue against the comonemie for defence of the Catholicke religion, his Majesties intrest, their liberties, lands, and fortunes, in pursuance of the oathe of association, and to observe and obeye in the meane time the forme of goverment the said congregation shall prescribe, untill it be otherwise ordered by an assembly, or untill [upon] application unto his Majestie, he settle the same otherwise.

All you good Christian Catholicks that shall reade this our sadd declaration, forced from us by the affliction and disaster of Ireland, be pleased to knowe that wee well understand the present condition of this nation is more inclininge to ruine and dispaire then recovery; yett will wee relye upon the mercie of God, whoe can and will take off from us the heavie judgments of his anger, warr and plague, if wee shall amend our wicked liues, and leane like litle ones upon the arme of his mercie, as wee cry to heauen for remedie; lett us confesse with teares our sins, sayinge with the Prophete Isayas, *Cecidimus quasi folium universi et iniquitates nostræ quasi ventus abstulerunt nos, non est qui invocet nomen tuum Domine, non est qui consurgat et teneat te, abscondisti faciem tuam a nobis et allisisti nos in manu iniquitatis nostræ.* This language from the hearte will reconcile heauen unto us, et quiescit ira Dei, et erit placabilis super nequitia populi sui. Though this noblman hath left us nothinge but weaknesse, want, and desolation, and that the enemy is riche, stronge, and powerfull, God is stronger, and can helpe, and for his owne names sake will deliuer us. Deus Eliæ, God of wonders and miracles, erit etiam nunc apud Hybernos, if our faith prove stronge and our actions sounde and censere, wee will conclude with S. Paule, that ocean of wisdom and doctor of the nations, *Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? quis accusabit adversus electos Dei? Deus qui justificat, quis est qui condemnet?* etc. Let nothinge separat you from the burninge charitie of Christe, and God will euer protecte and blesse you, amen.

¶

Wee doe allsoe fulminate the anexed excommunication, of one date with this 1650.
 declaration, against the opposers of the same declaration, in hæc verba :

Whereas wee, the undernamed archbishops, bishops, other prelates and dignitaries, sittinge at this our present congregation at Jamestowne, with the consent and aprobaton of the rest, through the dangers of those distracted times now absent, upon the said deplorable condition of this kingdome brought to the lowest ebb that may be imagined, after sadd and serious consideration and consultation had of the desperat affairs therof, havinge seene noe other humaine waies possible to putt some life unto this said gaspinge kingdome, but by our counsells, co-operations, and industrie, as is the comon sense of all our flocke whoe looke upon us as their onelie sanctuarie and relife against the dangers howering on them, menacinge noelesse than the whole ruyne of our nation. Judginge our selves therunto obliged by the lawes of God and nation, and by our pastorall charge, and in pursuance of an oathe solemnely taken by all the prelates, noblmen, and gentlmen that were of the grand comitteee upon concludinge of the peace, in case of not performinge the articles therof, to continue the association and union of the Confederate Catholicks, and to doe all acts preservative to the same. By which oathe the prelates soe sworne are authorised and bounde to renewe and mantaine the said union and association : [therefore we] haue endeavoured to apply to these extreme maladies the best salues and remedies to us now apeeringe. Wee haue therefore to that purpose issued our declaration. Yett fearinge, and God forbid, that any irrationall, perverse, or misleade person might giue any rubb or disobedience to our said declaration, wee haue unanimously consented and ascended to drawe out and unsheathe the most fearfull sworde of excommunication, as wee doe by these presents against all such wicked imps of Sathan in maner and followinge forme. By vertue of the power given us by our Saviour Jesus Christe, and by his holy Romaine Catholick Church, and by the Sea Apostolicke, as pastors and fathers of your soules, havinge first invoked the Holy Spirit of God, and havinge his feare before our eyes, soe that wee aime at nothinge but his honor and glorie, with the exaltation of his true faith and preservation of this forlorne kingdome, with his Majesties intrest therein, after mature deliberation and sittinge together, wee haue and doe by these presents anathematize and excommunicate with a maior excommunication ipso facto to be incurred, without expectinge any further sentence. And wee herby seperat from the bodie and communication of the faithfull, and deliuer unto the power of Sathan any person or persons of what qualitie or prehemenencie soeuer, that will presume by worde, writtinge, force of armes privatly or publickly by themselves or others, oppose or disobeye our presente declaration, or any parte therof. Wee doe likewise excommunicate as above all the advicers, relivers, and abettors and furtherers of those that will directly or indirectly infrenche, violate, or contraven our present sentence and declaration. Furthermore wee doe excommunicate and anathematize all our naturall patriotts and others of our flocks that will adhere unto the comonemie of God, kinge, and countrie, or will any waies helpe, assiste, or abett, or favour them, by bearinge armes for or with them, or otherwise contributinge unto them without urgent necessitie. Furthermore, in pursuance of our said declaration,

1650.

wee doe excommunicate, as aboue, all those that will side or adhere unto the Lord Marquesse of Ormond against our said declaration, by bearinge armes for him, or beinge of his partie, by givinge any subsidies, contributions, moneyes, or intelligences, or in any way strenghtninge, fauouringe, or advicinge, or helpinge him, or obeyinge his comaunds against us, or our right intentions herin. Wee doe likewise suspende respectiuely ab officio et beneficio, voce activa et passiva, gratijs indultis et privilegijs quibuscunque, all and singular priests, as well secular as regular, of what dignitie, qualitie, order, or prehemenencie soeuer they be, that presumeth to oppose or contrauen this our present censure and declaration, as above specified, and if contumax herin to be excommunicated as aforesaid. Under the same penalty of censures wee require the said priests, as aforesaid, to publish this our censure and declaration together on Sundaies and holy daies imediatly after masse, that none may be excused by ignorance. Dated at Jamestowne the day and yeare above mentioned.

Fr. Gregorius Ferrall,
Provincialis Dominicanorum.

Killalensis,
Vicarius Generalis,
etc.

Fr. Tho. Makiernan,
Minister Provincialis
Minorum.

Procurator Dublin.
Procurator Lagh-
lensis.

Præpositus Galvviensis
Casselensis.
Leonensis. Tuamensis.
Aghadensis. Ilfinensis.
Drumorensis.
Emblicensis.
Russensis.
Clonmacnosensis.
Hugo Ardmaghanus.
Kilmorensis.
Arth. Dunensis et
Conorensis.
Fernensis.
Clonfertensis.
Limbricensis.
Corcagensis.

646.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Bishope
of Drumore
agent from the
Clogie to
Ormond.

THOSE with many other prelats of regular function, divines, prebendaries, and dignitaries subscribed to the former declaration and censure. The whole congregation unanimously thought fitt (before the publication therof) to certifie the Marquesse of Ormond of their proceedings by the Bishope of Drumore, Fr. Oliuer Darcy, and another prelate, that his Excellencie, without tumulte and of his proper free accord, might relinquishe his assuminge power in some loyall person, and soe deserte the kingdome, or liue therin privatly without such authoritie, or the kingdome to be gouerned by a councill elected by the nation, untill his Majesties further pleasure was knowen. This beinge the butt and summ of the said agent prelats instructions. Arrivinge therefore to Loghreagh, wheare Ormond then kept his residence, the cause of his Lordship mission discovered, puffed with pride and disdaine, by noe meanes did condescende to the clergie motion, rather usinge many

threates and menaces. Drumore returninge with this rough and uncivill resulte unto the congregation. Whearupon a comettee or dellegats were apointed to sitt in Galway with such power and authoritie as in like case is required to confirme and publishe the present in pursuance herof. The dellegats sittinge as aforesaid in Galwaye with a comettee of the laitie allowed by the clergie, did confirme, as proper acte, the former censure of excommunication of the whole congregation in hæc verba :

1650.

A comettee
choosen by the
congregation.

Wee, the undernamed, sittinge at Galway with the comettee, authorized by the congregation held at Jamestowne 6th August, doe concurr with the above sentence of excommunication and censures, and withall doe now make and firme the same as an acte of our owne by our seuerall subscriptions this 23 of August, 1650.

647.

Fernensis. Cassellensis.
Leonensis. Limbricensis.
Aghadensis. Corcagensis.
Præpositus Galvviensis. Emblicensis.

The publication of this declaration and censure was on the 29 of this present. Ormond therefore and his complices worked all meanes possible to giue a rubb therto, and that they may the rather thrive, they caused Castillellagh (as not to render themselves all subjecte unto that foule staine of treacherie in case their resulte were intercepted) to write unto My Lord Earthon and Coote, the one Deputie for the Parliament in Ireland, the other Gouvernor of Vlster, invitinge them to come towards Athlone with their severall armies. Butt Costllagh, somewhat warie, did onely write unto My Lord Earthon in a submissive maner, humbly desiringe his Lordship may be pleased to vouchafe him a safe conducte for 20 daies to repaire unto his Lordship to Dublin for treatinge of seuerall matters of greate and proper concernment which he could not with due saftie comitt into writinge, leaste to be intercepted, and therby expose his honor to be subjecte unto the rough censures of unfavorable misconstructions. Wherunto My Lord Earthon did answere neere the ensuinge—Whearas My Lord of Costllagh haue desired our passe and saf conducte for the space of 20 daies to be enabled to confer with us about serious affaires conducinge to the publicke advantage of our Comonwealth, which wee graunte by these presents, etc. Signed, Earthon.

648.

Ormond and
his complices
fetche of
treachery.The summ of
Costllaghs
lettre.Earthons saf-
conducte to
Costllagh.

This haue been Ormonds reuenge (as more ample you shall in the subsequent chapter, with the groundes of this intimation obsearve), for

CHAPTER XIV.

MEN in disgrace with the state, and dislike of the present times, seeke their revenge from the comonemie, whose likes well of their motion, accepte their offer of service and meanes, and embraceth the action; not for their good that move it, but because he finds it stande with his owne advantage.

649.

Tacit. Hist. 1.
5.
Livi. 1. 34.
Cic. Cat. 2.

Honores, quos quieta respublica desperant, perturbata consequi posse arbitrantur.

My Lord of Costllagh receaued the said safe conducte from My Lord Earthon,

1650. Costillagh advised both the Ladies Dillons to write unto Earthon, accordinge requeste. But in as much as it did make mention of his desire, that it was graunted upon his requeste, he thought it dangerous to putt it in due execution, as subjecte to falle unto the hands of some other, not of the same graine, wherfore he advised his owne wife, and Sir James Dillons lady, quondam Mistris Ricthe, to write under their hands unto the said enemy Earthon, assuringe him upon his arrivall to Athlone to haue both towne and castle without opposition, and the rather he should be confident of this their engagement herin, that Sir Robert Thalbot (seuerally spoken of hertofore) was governor therof, by the Lord-leutenant's apointment, of whose compliance you may not doubt, etc. This feminian instrument, thus penned and dispatched (tendinge to the surrender of Athlone by Ormonds consent), was intercepted, and caried unto the Earl of Westmeath (though birde of the same feather), yett beinge then very jealous of My Lord Dillons greatness in the countie of Westmeath, whoe discovered the plott to Clanricard. The enemy notwithstandinge was by some other way certified. Whearupon without delay addressed himself for that expedition, wherby it evidently apeereth how prone those peeres are to breake with their contrimen, to proue disloyall to his Majestie, treacherous to their countrie, and perjurous to holy religion, which Costillagh of late had embraced and professed under the pious wings and godly shelter of My Lord Nuncio. The veritie and grounds of the former intimation and intelligence I will sett downe in due place hereafter.
650. Clanricard writes unto the clergie, and why? Clanricarde, upon the arrivall of Westmeath, and the discovery of the former plott by the interception of the said addresse, did write unto the clergie, desiringe respite of the publication of the former censure, the rather that the enemy was marching towards Athlone, and if the censure was once published, did doubtlesse distracte the Irish souldiers from joininge together, to oppose to any purpose. In this interim he gathered a considerable partie unto a bodie neere Athlone on Conaght side, wheare were 3 Vlster regiments and some horse, Bryan roe Oneylle, Tyrconell regiment, and Art Mc Huigh boy Oneylls regiment; this, though all together fopperie, colution, and inuention, hindred the publication of the censures, in many places in due time, which had beene the maine scope of those plotts. Wheare wee leaue them for a while, both enemy and suposed freinde adressinge themselves for Athlone, and speake a litle of the clergie and regular faction.
- 3 Vlster regiments.

CHAPTER XV.

651. Aristoteles Eth. 8. Seneca. Isidorus. Plut. AMONGE sutors in love and in lawe money is a comon medler, and drives the bargaine and busines to an upshott; by it those contracte their mariage, and these conclude their peace; but it is noe sure contracter of freindshipe betweene states. Amitie baptized in this water is soone renounced, and bonds that are knitt by this knot are easily by the same dissolved.
- Carons faction against Thomas Makynan. Plenæ querelarum et criminationum omnes amicitiae quæ fructibus et emolumentis diriguntur. You may obsearve what we spoke, no. 608, of the ante-comissarie Caron and his complices his faction against Fr. Thomas Makynan, Provinciall. Now in vertuo

and pursuant to Fr. Feilds comission (as there mentioned) to both visitt and hould 1650.
a chapter, the respective parties, both obedient and refractorie, were summoned to
apeere at Kilconell in Conaght, on the 15th of August, 1650, all the vocalls of the
whole province there apeeringe, and of Carons faction (if I be not deceaued) were
the undernamed (though not all, but some, before their transgression were vocalls).

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| Fr. Iohn Tuitt. | Fr. Bonaventura Dallahoide. | Fr. Redmond Caron. | Those sub- mitted and were absolved. |
| Fr. Zimon Wafer. | Fr. Francis Wolfe. | Fr. Valentine Browne. | |
| Fr. Iohn Flattisbury. | Fr. James Fitz Zymons. | Fr. George Dillon. | |
| Fr. Thomas Thalbot. | Fr. James Caron. | Fr. Anthony Bourke. | |
| Fr. Anthony Garnon. | Fr. James Shiell. | Fr. Patricke Plunkett. | |
| Fr. Edward Ferbegg. | Fr. Anthony Fitz-Gerald. | Fr. George Barnewall. | |
| | Fr. Jasper Font. | Fr. Christopher Plunkett. | |
| | | Fr. Phillip Wooders. | |

Those being questioned for their refraction and contumacie in disobedience, and 652.
all kept sure, accordinge the lawes and prescriptions of regular orders in that
behalf, were brought to the discretorium (which is, as much to say, as the house
of Commons, or lower house of Chapter, resemblinge a Parliament); the upper
house or diffinitorium, beinge there assembled for that purpose, did severally and
publicly acknowledge their faulte, cryed mercie and forgiuenesse, not onely for
themselves then present, but allsoe for and in the behalf of other such of the same
faction that adhered unto them thitherunto, and were then absent, by reason of
the iniquitie of the times (as they gaue out), promisinge with teares and ex-
terior remorse of conscience publicke and genuine satisfaction to God and the
world. The Fathers, prone to indulgence, knowinge them to be men and not
angells, and therefore subjecte to relapses (as obsearvers of their divine Master, our
Saviours charitable rule in that behalfe, to forgive your brother what he had don
amisse against you, or his proper soule, as you would that he forgive you your
owne), willingly condescended to their motion, and leaste suspition might be con-
ceaved of any partiall doome herin, referred the same unto the generall chapter
of the whole Order (whose noe doubt would prove indifferente). In the meane time
that the Fathers of the province receave a resulte from thence, those to be under
the charitable wings and self benevolence of their respectiue superiours, and not
pleased to publish this much unto such as were then present, but by a publicke
instrument severally subscribed unto by the delinquents to be notified unto all
absent, which was registered in the province archiv, as a caution or pledge of
their future good behaviour, and thus were absolved from their former apos-
tacies and excommunications (except that of My Lord Nuncio, whose authoritie in
that behalf I may lawfully call in question), and disperised in their severall non
regular irregularities, were dismissed by obedience to their severall habitations or
places of refuge. A new Provinciall, Fr. Francis Sullivan, was subrogated,
guardians and diffinitors accordinge custome were elected. The diffinitors, Fr.
James Tyrrell, diffinitor of Linster; Fr. Mellaghlin Corceran, diffinitor of Vlster;
Fr. Daniell Kelly, diffinitor of Conaght; and Fr. Jeremias Harbert, diffinitor of
Monster; Fr. Patricke Brenan, custos custodum.

Chapter re-
semble parlia-
ment.

The reconcilia-
tion of those
apostats.

A new Provin-
ciall and his
Diffinitors.

1650.

653.

They turne
to their former vomitte.

The chapter thus managed was dissolved with the acceptation of all well affected.

But noe sooner were those practitioners of disobedience at libertie then turned to their former vomitte of faction and self-disrespecte unto superiours, nay, contrarie to both divine and humane lawes, forgettinge the worth of such their ranke (if any they had), and their publicke engagment of fealtie, sided with those of the kingdome incendaries as formerly, and such as were not at the said chapter; and in whose behalf those became sureties, would not condescende to that agreement, nor submitt their hearde-stiff necks unto the sweete yoke of obedience, of lawfull superiours, rather did run their former desperate course of apostacie, whose names are by the under-written knowen

Walsh the
ring-leader of
this apostat
crue.

Fr. James Delamare.

Fr. Anthony Sweetman.

Fr. Bonaventura Fitz
Gerald.

Fr. Didacus Canin.

Fr. Christopher Flattisbury.

Fr. Teige Gorman.

Fr. Iohn Dormer.

Fr. Didacus ———.

Fr. Iohn Leicester.

Fr. Peter Walsh.

Fr. Iohn Barnwall.

Fr. George Barnewall.

Fr. Mathias Barnewall.

Fr. Lodovicus Fitz Gerald.

Fr. Laurence Dillon.

Ormond and
his peeres.

Those with others of the same feather, their associates, would not condescende unto the former submission, don in their name and behalf (as aforesaid), rather held out against all that is regular; nay, seuerall of these that personally submitted did recoile and recant, chiefly Fr. Valentine Browne, Fr. Iohn Dillon, and others whom wee leaue for another occasion, and turne to the treacherie of Athlone, from whence wee made our digression.

CHAPTER XVI.

654.

Senec.
Plini. Paneg.
Plat.
Virgil.
Lucan. l. 2.

THE buildinge whose grounde sels are rotten may for a time be under-propped and kepte up; but when it is once fallinge, there is noe possible meanes to stay it; soe the gouernment whose fundation is layde in bloude, or banishment of the nobilitie and oppression of the Commons may subsiste for a while, but when it once begins to fall, the downe fall is violent and sudaine.

—sic sors incerta vagatur. —fertque refertque vices, et habent mortalia casum.

The fetch of
this peere to
hinder the
clergie acte.

The butt and objecte of all the machin of Athlone busines of both suposed freinde and foe did tende to the distraction of the Irish nation, and to hinder the clergie declaration and censure (as no. 650 mentioned) to be published accordinge its purporte. The enemie deputy, receavinge intelligence (as above specified) to marche unto Athlone with the bodie of his armie, havinge all things in a readinesse, upon the arrivall of Sir Charles Coote, tooke his journey accordinge covenant, and arrivinge thither, seated himself before the towne; butt Clanricard beinge on the other side encamped, the engagers on Earthons behalf, for shames sake, durst not comply with, as provinge too publicke a treason, though Sir Nicholas White, Costlaghs father in lawe, did undertake the accomplishment, but the busines cedinge, gott a rounde taunte for his paines from Deputie Earthon.

Earthon, therefore, and Coote, encamping before the towne on Westmeath side, many of that county gentlemen, resortinge thither, the Protestant Bishope of Clogher, Colonell Jones brother, somewhat acquainted with seuerall of these Median gentry, and specially with one Richard Dalton of Drollanstowne, Iohn Dalton of Mullin meaghan, Thibott Dillon of Conorstowne, Charles Mellaghlin of Ballindery, and others, invitinge them one day to his tent, wheare fallinge to seuerall discourses, Iohn Dalton, conceavinge by the freindly behaviour of the Protestant prelate that he might use censeritie, and proceedinge with some libertie in his familiar intercourse, beinge a well spoken gentleman, made his apollogie, tendinge to the knowledge of a flyinge reporte, giuen out of the interception of some letters sent unto Earthon by Costllagh or his ladies (as above mentioned). Pardon, sir, said he, the bouldnesse, if anythinge distastfull I utter, free libertie graunted by the prelate. My Lord, said he, I mervayle how could you conceaue to haue gott the castle of Athlone perforce by such an armie, your siede onely of one side, and this maine riuier Shanon betweene you and it, unlesse you had some promise already of it upon your arrivall. Sir, said the prelate, I doe not much care whoe heares it. My Lord Dillon wrote a letter to My Lord Earthon to Dublin desiringe his safe conducte for 20 daies, and that he had seuerall business of greate and propre concernment to intimat unto his Lordship, which he could not with saftie comitte to writinge, leaste to be intercepted, etc. Upon receipt of this letter it hapned, said the prelate, that I was in the house, and My Lord Earthon shewinge me his safe conducte, pursuant to the said requeste, wherin he made mention, that My Lord Dillon did in his proper addresse desire the same, wherupon I adviced My Lord to forbear mentioninge any such matter in the said saf conducte, rather to send it as by a proper motive, without makinge relation of any former suite for it, otherwise assured his Lordship that would giue a maine rubb unto the future action, and marr all our pretences in that behalf; notwithstandinge all this My Lord would not alter his text, but sent the same awaye to Costllagh.

Costllagh, receavinge it, weighinge the danger of his honor and reputation, now at a stake if this were knowen, would not (accordinge my predixion, said the prelate) putt the same in use, yett wee were sure of the assecution of his former engagement upon sight of our persons, and caused his ladies to insinuat this much, as persons of leaste notice and consequence, and though wee heare some were intercepted, others by way of Sir Nicholas White came to our hands. This confidence, Sir, of havinge bothe town and castle upon sight, was the occasion that wee did not bringe a more flourishinge armie alonge, to leager the castle on both sides. To know this much was the aime of Mr. Dalton. See, kinde and indifferent reader, how this clandestine treacherie, with its grounds, came to be publicke.

Earthon and Coote continuinge in campe before the towne some daies without any greate purpose, this remaininge, the other with a stronge partie of horse and foote marched to Delvin Macoghlan, easily tooke Kilcolgan, Kincora, Streamstownes, Birr, and possessed himself of all countrie, leavinge garrisons therin, except Rachra, wheare Mr. Terence Coghlan had his residence at present. The enemye besiedginge the same, Mr. Coghlan did send for relife unto Clanricarde. wher-

1650.

655.

Earthon in
campe before
Athlone.
Clogher did
invite those
gentlemen.
Iohn Daltons
censeritie with
Jones.

Bishope Jones
relation touch-
inge Dillons
treacherie.

A saf conducte
to Dillon.

656.

Sir Nicholas
White.

657.

Delvin taken.

1650. upon the Vlster forces were sent thither, whom Clanricarde was not to spare. Bryan roe Oneyll was chiefe comaunder of that partie, whose Lieutenant-colonell was worthy Sheane O'Hagan, whoe assayed the enimie in his trenches, killed many, and did putt the rest unto that extremitie, that volens nolens must dislodge and raise his sledge to his losse and disgrace, leavinge garrisons as formerly, and not thriving at Rachra, marched to Athlone, wheare duringe his aboade sustained much trouble and damage, lost the matter of 400 horse, caried away by night by idlers or tories, as they please to tearme them; sure if our standinge forces did prove as manly as those, they might utterly destroye the enimie in that interim, but had not the grace to doe it, rather gaue a rubb unto such as, with the hazard of their proper liues, anoyed him, waitinge on those poore soules in privat passages, pilladginge therin of all the bootie the caried, whoe should rather encourage and countenance them then deprive them of things that did coste them noe lesse then the hazarde of their hearts-bloude. The enimie, seeinge how idle he spent his time there, hoised saile, and marched awaye to their proper garrisons, Earthon to Dublin, and from thence to the sledge of Limbricke, and Cooto to the North with his partie. In his marche neere Roconnell, some of his horse mette with one Fr. Bryan Geoghegan, a Franciscan fryer, and tooke him prisoner, caried him alonge to the North, where, makinge an escape, arriued to his proper monesterie at Montefernan.
- The enimie beaten from Rachra.
- The losse sustained by the enimie at the sledge of Athlone.
- The enimie marched and dislodged.
658. Clanricarde, now enformed of the raisinge of the enimie sledge, not well brookinge Macoghlan's countrie to be in the enimie possession (not that he was any thinge tender of its saftie, nor of the publicke goode, rather for his owne privat ends, as borderinge on his Conaght province), marched through Athlone and to Macoghlan's countrie; sittinge before Kilcolgan, comaundinge summons unto the deffendants, a negativue resulte returned, as beinge confident of reliefe next morninge, which was accordinge expectation on foote and drawinge on towards Kilcolgan, was to come by a foorde at Fyrbane, the bridge there already demolished, but a partie of horse and foote of the Irish armie, under the comaunde of Colonell William boy Bourke, marched to defende that passage; the enimie arrivinge, was brauely opposed by the Irish, whoe noelesse worthy behaued himself to recover the passage. Colonell Bourke lost two horses. At lenght with a pike in his hande had his intent, the defence of the passage, and the rather by the sudaine and unexpected suplie of Major Owen O'Doghardie did put the enimie to rout with present. Kilcolgan garrison, certified of the busines, capitulats for quarter; beinge graunted of bagg and baggadge, marched next morninge to Birr, and Clanricarde to Cloghan, wheare was another enimie garrison, which was won after some petty losse upon quarter as the former, wherein he shewed himself more indulgent then was warrantable by the lawe of armes, circumstances considered. By this Macoghlan's countrie was cleere, the comaundinge peere made some staye there to refreshe his men, and was earnestly suplicat by both armie and gentrie to followe his fortune and marche towards Birr with his ordinance, beinge seuerally and truely enformed that upon sight would yeld, as not havinge sconces or forte capable of any stronge defence to garde or shelter the enimie, onely one gate-house existinge of the former buildings and allsoe reliefe farr off—noe neerer then Lim-
- Clanricard before Kilcolgan.
- The courage of Wm. Bourke.
- Owen O'Doghardy.
- Kilcolgan yelded.
- Cloghan won.
- Clanricards intention discouraged.

bricke. Noe perswasions did prevayle with Clanricard, he will not yeld to any such reason, his will must stand for lawe, and his non-compliance with the publicke vote of a councell of warr : all of the former resulte (though knowne to be uerie dangerous, as smelinge of faction and treason) must stand for satisfaction.

Limbricke beinge leagured (as no. 616 touched), Huigh O'Neyll, Major-generall and Governor of that citty, did write verie earnest for reliefe to Ormond and to the dellegats sittinge in Galwaye, as above specified. Ormond did comaunde Castilhauen thither with some horse and foote. The Major hearinge of his aproache, he caused the gates to be made sure, and would not giue waye to Castilhauens partie to inter the towne, as havinge true information by wofull experience of his malapart proceedinges hitherunto. At lenght Castilhauen himself was admitted to the cittie, with the matter of one troupe of horse ; the rest was dismissed, for the Governor was not willinge to intertaine any that did smeles of faction, of which corrupt stuffe he had plentie alreadie. Wherefore he writes the seconde time to the dellegats, that they advice Bryan roe Oneyll with two regiments of his Vlster forces to marche towards Limbricke, as one that was earnest for the cause in agitation, and allsoe a mercenarie or a souldier of fortune in the province of Conaght ; the dellegats did writte accordingly unto Bryan roe, but the letter was intercepted and brought to Ormond, whoe remitted the same with a proper one to Clanricard, perswadinge him to marche from his campe in Delvine with 3 regiments of foote, wherof two to be Vlstermen, and give out that he went to relive Limbricke (all which was don in disrespects of the clergie), and to leaue both the armie and Limbricke in disposition of beinge lost (as after it proved). Those letters cominge unto the hands of Clanricard in his campe, departed in the posture aforesaid, apointinge Major Luke Taaffe chiefe comaunder, and caused his ordinance to be transported over the Shanon to Conaght, but arrivinge to his proper home to Clanricard, stayed there, and never offered to relieue Limbricke, as was giuen out.

Major Taaffe, now chiefe comaunder of this Irish partie in the field, a yonge man, a fresh water souldier, without the leaste insight in martiall discipline, and noted of refraction hertofore, a practitioner of disloyaltie, comaunded his armie to march to Lusmach, where (if they intended any service) was impossible to acheive any, beinge in a nuke betweene boggs, woods and the Shanon, and another riuier, soe that it was rather a place destined for slaughter in such an occasion then for any service, in the judgment of any understandinge witte ; all his councell of warr and the primest gentlemen of them partes adviced him to the contrarie, but all would not searve the turne. Major-generall Neylle did write unto this campe from Limbricke, desiringe they should be waire, and keepe themselves in places of saftie, and that a stronge enemye partie did marche from Limbricke siede, and was thought they aimed that way, for there was nothinge now soe freshe in their memorie as the routing of that partie, least it should come to a considerable bodie. Some prophecies were tould Major Taaffe tendinge to the destruction of an Irish armie in that place.

All those pregnant motiues were not sufficient to alter the minde of Major Taaffe to continue his resolution in that fatall place ; himself and Sir James Dillon his uncle, and others of their faction, went to Gerrott Moores castle for their

1650.

659.

Huigh Oneyll
desires reliefe.But how com-
plied with ?Greate faction
in Limbricke.Huigh Oneylls
second addresse
for reliefe.Treacherie of
Ormond and
Clanricard.

660.

Major Taaffe
chiefe com-
ander.Comandes his
armie to
slaughter.Many intelli-
gences and
motiues against
Taaffes pro-
ceedings.Taaffe and Sir
James Dillon
put in saftie.

1650.
The skirmish
of Lusmach.

Leutenant-
colonell
Sheane
O'Hagan
killed.

Dogharty and
his horse saved.

Major Taaffe
and Sir James
Dillons cha-
racter.

saffie, leavinge the armie in the said nuke, without either centrie, centinell, or garde, a mightie foggy daye. The enemye, spieinge his advantage, rushed upon them unawares, both horse and foote; the infanterie through a bogg, and the horse came in that onely straight that was to be defended and guarded against any such attempt, without any resistance, beinge naked and carelesse (confidinge in the strenght of the place, and in the intimation of securitie delivered and assured by their comaunder), made havocke of all this Irish partie, whose thought it more safe in that exigence to trust themselves unto the mercie of a mercilesse element, the boysterous river Shanon, to be transported by its swift streame unto another alien continent, then to abide the tiranizinge swordes of that heade-stronge and cruell enemye, wherby a multitude was saved, fewe men were killed, the foggy skie a good shelter then. But the thrice valiant Sheane O'Hagan, Leutenant-colonell for Bryan roe, seuerally spoken of hertofore, with some of his regiment, was killed, as not knowinge how to flye, rather trained to face his enemye, though with odds. One Captain Dillon, Sir Luke Dillons son, whose was founde in a petty castle, was hanged. The Irish lost many of their horses and armes, such as escaped was deemed rather a miracle then any humane industrie. Major Owen O'Dochardy saved the most parte of his Vlster horse, but how was not knownen, but by all men wondered. Major Taaffe and his uncle, Sir James Dillon (as was giuen out), passed leasurly the Shanon before the skirmish began, which gaue waye to many constructions of their disloyaltie and treacherie, as well for the former posture of the armie, their want of scouts and centinells, as of their passinge over the Shanon in such a season for their proper securitie. Lett any indifferent man judge, whether this was reall proceedinge or its contrarie. By this colloginge deportment the Irish lost that day both their honor, liues, goods and the field.

CHAPTER XVII.

661
Dion. Cass.
Tasso. Can.
1. 2.
Tacit. Hist. 4.
Proverb. Hisp.

THAT mans hapinesse is greatest whose hath bene in miserable condition, for he tasteth the double sweetes of remembringe his forepassed miserie and enjoyinge his present felicitie; soe, on the contrarie, the greatest miserie is to haue bene hapie; various is the estate of men in their greatnesse, and greates is their miserie in their fall.

Quando tengas mas fortuna : Mira que es como la luna.

The Bishope of
Laghlin and
Clanmacnosc
campe.

About this time a partie of militarie forces gathered together for the clergie service in pursuance of the declaration and excommunication of Jamestowne congregation against Ormond and his adherents, under the comaunde of Edmond Dempsie, Bishope of Laghlin, and Anthony Geoghegan, Bishope of Clunmacnosc neere Killihie, wheare for the same intent, Bryan Mc Phelim Byrne, Daniell oge Kevanagh, Luke Tuhill, Luke Byrne, Roger and Lewes Moore, Colonell Arthur Fox, Leutenant-colonell Charles Molloy (there apointed Colonell of foote, James Dempsie his Leutenant, and Teige Conor his Major), with seuerall other gentlemen of qualitie. The forementioned acte of Jamestowne congregation was here published

by the assent of the most parte of the clergie of the province of Linster, together conuened for that purpose; the question was now of a Generall in Linster, all the clergie of that province was highly obliged unto the Earle of Westmeath, not for any of his proper meritts, rather for his grandfathers sake, whose in transcendent degree obliged all Catholicks of the whole kingdome in time of greatest suppression to his deuotion, for his innumerable toiles undergone for their sakes, to be in the predicament of gratfull men for such a publicke and comon obligment, they were to choose this his grandchild (alias unworthy of their fauour) to be Generall of the Catholicks of Linster, and the rather that he shewed himself in the present times antagoniste of My Lord Dillon Costllagh, in whose contestation he did leade the matter of a legion of infanterie unto the field, in povverishing such places as he thought any way deuoted to Dillon.

Being certified of the Linster clergie intention touchinge his promotion (as aforesaid), commaunded some of his foote and a troupe of horse towards the Kings countie. But in noe meanes would joine with the bishops partie (though gave out, they were of one and the same intentions), and under colour therof were not hindred in any their irregular proceedings, loiteringe time and undoinge many men by those extravagancies, they turned both obedience and backe to the church obedience, and joined with Clanricard, chiefe favorit of Dillon, a contemner of church designe and an opposer of his exaltinge. Ormond and Clanricard duringe this time insisted in their former petition to the dellegats for the nonpublication of the declaration and excommunication, now obtained the suspence therof unto further time, in high prejudice of the comon cause and disrespekte of the whole clergie, though none guiltie herof other then such as heretofore were charactered with the enfamous staine of both perjurie and faction, notwithstandinge thriued soe well that many that adhered unto the church (obsearvinge it volubilitie) cecinit pallinodiam, and this partly by the frequent insinuations of such belyinge ministers as were sent by Ormond to the campe, Sir Richard Barnewall, Patricke Bryan, and Sir Walter Dungan, whose was not ashamed to tell the Bishope of Clonmacnose publickly that he and his partie did run headlonge to rebellion. Those ministells of iniquitie, with their double tongue and cankered hearts, left the most parte of the souldiers in the verie next disposition of recantation, thus many ran to their owne proper homes and dispersed, which had bene the prime objecte of those refractorie peeres.

Another mischief did follow the former, for in this time to publish unto the world the unenimous poyson of Ormonds cankered heart towards the clergie, he commaunds one Colonell Wogan, a Protestant, a fitt trincer of such a carver, to attache the bodie of Iohn Mollony, bishope of Killaloe, and sease upon all his goods to the use of James Buttler, Earl and Marquesse of Ormond, which was fourthwith putt in execution; £1500 readie money and gould, beside his plate and houshold stuffe, was brought before Ormond upon good accounte of the bishops goods and himself in the nature of a prisoner (you may suppose other summ was concealed and embeazled by the unconscionable executioners), and 12 lustie horses, and furniture for 40 horse, for the good bishope was to make up a brave troupe at his owne charges for the publicke service (as all the bishops were accordinge their abilitie to make up an armie), whose remained in the said nature of a prisoner upwards of 4 weekes, and

1650.

Westmeath
voted by the
clergie Gen-
erall of Linster.
His grand-
fathers deport-
ment.

662.

How West-
meath behaued
himself.

Clanricard.

How ill some
of those delle-
gats behaued
themselves.

Sir Richard
Barnwall,
Patricke
Bryan, and
Sir Walter
Dungans pro-
ceedings.

663.

The Catholicks
Bishope of
Killaloe putt
in restraints.

1650.

because this was highly concealed, and noe guilte founde or knowen in the prelate, other then his loyaltie to both kinge and countrie, and zeale of holy religion, was soe handled by him, whose rather should cherish him for his reall and benemeritinge proceedings (if any sparke of loyaltie did harbour in his brest) by the suggestion of some, his Comissioners of trust was at lenght enlarged, and a kinde of an assignment graunted him; all desperat, and not solvente, and his proper goods (as was giuen out) employed in the present payment of the armie, non existinge for the present, other then a regiment of horse of English Puritants that waited on the person of his Excellencie. And thus was the goode prelate cheated of his money, hindered of his religious intentions, depriued of his horses and furniture, with other abiliments, his proper libertie restrained, with seuerall menaces euery daie to be executed; lett any man of an indifferent vote iudge whether this was legall, loyall, faithfull, and honest, or treacherous, disloyall, perfidious, and dishonest, to whose iudicious doome I referr it.

664.

The clergie insisted still on the declaration against Ormond, though the excommunication publication was hindred by the faction of some of the dellegats, as aforesaid. Ormond therefore comaunds an assembly to meete in Loghreagh about the first of November, 1650, wheare fewe of the clergie apeered, other then such as were still of the faction. The fewe well affected that attended there were Antonius Clonmacnosensis, Robertus Corcagensis, and Walterus Clonfertensis, whose too often moved for reconciliation to his Holinesse and his Nuncio, prouinge the validitie of his censures. Movinge allsoe the compliance of Generall Neylles application (as no. [blank] touched) in regarde of the multiplicite of theire opposers, could not thriue. Montgerrott, a poore dotinge ould man, was a braue stickler for the contrary sense, which was grounde enough that others of the like graine did speake high and beare swaye in this factionall assembly. Tuamensis, Drumorensis, Aghadensis, and others of this relapsinge broode, did both seconde and maintaine all factionall motions. Sir James Preston, or Don Diego, played his parte verie well for both church and kingdome, though mightie stoute; but a single man could doe verie litle to any purpose.

665.

You shall obsearue, by the way, that this Sir James Preston, since the takinge of Waterford by the enemye, which was last August, the plague beinge mightie reefe there, thitherunto runinge the same score with his father and factionists; but now better enformed, as well by foraigne intimations as proper observations, was quitt altered, wherby did insinuate his desires unto the clergie, makinge large promises of fealtie unto seuerall prime members thereof pursuant to those recent intentions, harbouringe some suspition of one Major Ricard Grace, gouernor, that was about that time of Birr, for Ormond, that he was not zealous for the comon cause, whom findinge with a small traine, caried him in the nature of a prisoner to the castle of Palise in Ferkoll, wheare he continued for some weekes; in the interim, Sir James, makinge some necessarie journeyes too and fro, some of the said Grace, his troupe layinge still in ambushe for him, narrowly escaped. But some favorable oportunitie was offered, that those troupers did cary away from the said castle the forementioned Grace perforce, whose, at libertie, shewed himself there after mightie plyable and concordant towards the clergie affaires, as hereafter will apeere in due place.

Ormond, after all his prodigalities, being now like a bankrupt or a ship lost 1650.
 on the continent by the furie of sourcing waves, is visited by many hungrie and
 covetous debtors, assigned upon that shipwracke-caske to force payment. Soe this
 peere intringe this kingdome two yeares agoe, with winde in popa, with a full saile
 and prosperous gale (as was thought then), which contrarie and high winds of faction,
 treason, covetousnesse, reuenge, perfidie, and disdaine, did soe shake his vessell,
 flyinge too loftie, like another Icarus, with his borrowed feathers, that he suffered
 shipwrecke; all mens eyes now cast upon him, not for any comisseration or pittie
 they had of him as the sole sublunar cause of the nations distruction, onely to see 666.
 him now brought unto such a poore and humble posture (as at present) (are
 somewhat satisfied) in sayinge, ecce homo, see that greate peere that not longe agoe
 compited with the proude angell, similis ero altissimo, is growen now soe weake,
 humble, and abjecte, that he begs of the members of the congregation (whom not
 long agoe he menaced and disdained) a certificat for his future calefication in
 Catholickes countries; but nemo illi daret, except such as haue beene still of the
 sense of that Luciferan rebellion, faction and treacherie, as Tuamensis, Aghadensis,
 Limbricensis, Kilfornorensis, Killalensis, and Drumorensis, whose fourthwith
 graunted his request and signed therto, and allsoe worked their best endeavours
 to cause Clonmacnosensis, Corcagensis, and Clonfertensis, there then resident, to
 doe the like; whose absolutely denied the same as ever yett averse unto faction,
 and stiffly defended both My Lord Nuncios excommunication and the late acte of
 Janestowne congregation pursuant herunto, would by noe meanes signe unto the
 said instrument as distructive to the said clergie acte. Ormond havinge this
 forsaid instrument signed as aforesaid for his safe conduct, leavinge (by the
 acceptation of the greatest vote of that zeudo-assembly) Clanricarde with the kings
 sworde, with the honorable title of Lord Deputie-generall of Ireland (which was
 Judas kisse to our Saviour). Clanricard for his Majestie, incidit in cyrthem, cupiens
 vitare Caribdem, takes his leaue with Insichuyne and others his apostat traine
 and cavallirie, with the courses of clergie men, widowes, orphans, poore and riche
 of the well affected, but with the sighes and groanes of the factionists.

CHAPTER XVIII.

As wee obsearue in nature that keene and razor witts, which will take a hair of the 667.
 hande, doe turne edge at a more solid substance, and are apter for a fine conceite Tacit. Hist. 3.
 then a sounde deliberation, whereas the tough and dull axe is able to encounter Claud. bell.
 the harde and sturdy oake, and to over master him; soe experience teacheth us Arist. Ethic.
 that hott and firie spiritts are apter to gett a purchase then to keepe it, and to win Prob. de Han.
 the garland then to weare it; whereas the benefitt of treasure is not in the Livi. 1. 21.
 acquisition, but in the fruition, for goods are not good but by the use. He therefore Senec.
 that hath the fortune to gett the victorie, but not the judgment to make use therof,
 hath both the one and the other for his greater fall.

Hodie penes hostes erat victoria : At non habebant ducem, qui sciat victoria uti.

Plut. in Cas.

It is well known unto such as were acquainted with Ormond that he was of

1650.

quicke and razor witte in sudaine and matters of smale concearnment, but euer in his proceedings did turne edge at more solide substances ; he was noted to be apter for a fine conceite then for a sounde deliberation, whose firie and hott spirit was more prone and sutable to win the garland then were it ; he came to that height of honor that of a subjecte there was non plus ultra to be looked for, and likly som what more he expected or aimed at, those beinge solid essences was not of abilitie to make use of them, accordinge the degree of his ranke and the circumstances of the times. A man of a shallowe witte might conceave strange that a yeare and a halfe is now effluxed since the froathing ebb of distracted Ireland did begin, and the comon enemie have gott in this interim almost three intire provinces without the least rubb. Was it euer heard in any historie that in such a diluge the loosinge hand did not sue the conqueror with some conditions, either of cessation of armes for some certaine time, peace or submission, or some such application, to borowe time and keepe breath in a nation soe loyall to his Majestie untill acquainted of the proceedings ? But Ormond had don noe such matter. I am confident the very enemie would willingly embrace such a motion, and if this peere were either true to kinge or countrie, would move it in theire behalf ; but noe such was don which sheweth his litle censeritie in a matter that soe neerly concerned the intrest of his royall master. Ormond not onely have neglected soe maine a pointe for the behoofe of the nation intrusted unto his care in soe extreame an exigence, but worked all the meanes for its extirpation. All such as any waye he thought to be of abilitie, or intention to giue the comon enemie a rubb, or the kingdome any asistance, would worke his full endeavours to his disablinge or distraction, as wittnesse Huigh Oneylle in the defence of Limbricke, the Bishope of Killaloe, makinge up a braue troupe, the clergie of Linster gatheringe an armie, D. Anthonios frigatt seased upon at his departure now, to the utter ruine of all maritime affaires for the poore Catholicks. But we leaue him in his journeye for France, and turne to Clanricard and his zeudo-Assembly in Loghreagh.

CHAPTER XIX.

668.
Mac. dis. 1.
1°. Xenop.
Cyr. ad filios.
Suet. in Vesp.
Eechin.

It is a hinderance to the generall service and a furtherance to the generall destruction to giue him manifest cause of discontente, and yett after employe him in a greate place of charge ; for neither can the state be assured of his fidelitie when he is used, nor he of theire favour when he is accused.

Tam est periculosum malicioso potentiam, quam furioso gladium dare.

The reallists and royallists by woefull experience were seuerally acertaind of Clanricards double dealinge and thwarte proceedings since those comotions ; and he, too sure himselfe that in the comon sense of all indifferent witte, was branded with the same character, and consequently not well pleased with such whom he reputed his antagonists, notwithstandinge winked at the matter untill he had the kings sworde and managinge of the kingdome in his power, as the non plus ultra to be aimed at. True it is they could never affye themselues in his fidelitie in the

asseccution of his charge, nor he of their loyaltie and reallitie towards him; by those reciprocall misunderstandings a gape was open for the misservice of both kinge and kingdome, and another for the generall distruction; for it beinge as dangerous to investe a malitiose man with power as to giue a madd man a naked sworde in his hande, notwithstandinge all there extante condescended to his promotion.

The onely cause the well affected could yeld for condescendings to this peeres greatest (notwithstandinge their former jealousies) was leaste in refusinge him, beinge Catholicke, to be Deputie, and not pleased with Ormond, as Protestants would be reputed malcontents with any gouernment, rather inclined to breake square with all that is derived of monarchie (as the faction was too apte to brute), not to giue waye to such jealousies, they were pleased to aprobe of his newe institution, though more then sure of his future and past refractione (as hereafter will appeere), whose, consideringe how matters were caried (though deriued his power from Ormond), did now move two things contrarie to the capitulation of Ormonds peace, the one, the power of the comissioners intrusted, the other, the inative authoritie of the clergie to binde perjurous and refractorie persons by censures to compliace; in this motion he pretended sole authoritie unto himself, without dependencie of either comissioners or clergie, and not to call any his actions in question, which propositions were proposed and admitted by onely such refractorie persons, whose euer yett were pleased, with any such as did not conduce to the publicke good, advantage of the people, honor of the nation, profit of his Majestie, fauour of religion, or the consonancie of oathe of association.

CHAPTER XX.

Soe goodly a thinge is vertue in itself, as euen her shadowe, if it be in princes, doth much goode: to particular men by imitation, and to the publicke by participation. Whearefore, though simulation what is good, and dissimulation what is euill, be vices in a privat man, yett in a publicke person they are necessarie euills. In whom to be ouerte in expressinge his nature, or free in ventinge his purpose, is a thinge of dangerous consequence; for it harmes himself, and armes his enimie with prevention.

Nescit imperare qui nescit dissimulare.

This newe authorized peere, in his now proceedings, like a true child of Adam, was scarce created, when he gaue inditions of his fall; though courtier, noe polititian, as not ashamed in publicke audience to call the Bishope of Clonmacnose a traytor, a rehell, and factionier, for noe other cause other then beinge (accordinge his principles) constant and pursuant to both function and oathe, observant of the acte of Jamestowne congregation, My Lord Nuncios excommunication, and other things tendinge to the publicke good of both religion, kinge, and nation. If polititian, he could not be soe ouerte in expressinge what inwardly laye hide in his breaste, nor vente his poyson soe publicly against braue prelates, which. if

1650.

669.

670.

Lip. Pol. l. 4.

Seneca.

Thyest.

Cic. Ep. l. 1.

Cic. Offic. l. 3.

1650.

equinam iungere si vellet, et varias inducere plumas undique collatis membris ut turpiter atrum desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne, spectatum admissi; risum teneatis, amici. This mulier formosa is the Generall Councell, ministers of State. She was noe virgo, but a prostitute for every woer, the horse necke besett with feathers are our comaunders in chiefe, our colonells and souldiers, the feathers theire topps, hatt-bands, cuffs, wheare to flye withall, they fastned them, like Icarus, Icarijs nomina fecit aquis. The other parte of this monstrum atrum piscem must of necessitie be the pike and codd, soe as the greater pike eates the lesse, soe the armie and ministers of state doe eate up the comons; and as the codd, seeinge the tempeste doe swallowe stones to sticke to the grounde, for feare of the surginge seas, soe our comissioners and comannders doe run to theire castles, leavinge us exposed to the furie of the enemye. Neuer a member of this beaste was truly vnited, and soe wee are, and if any union be, non est unio entis continui, sed contigui, for it is soluble upon any occasion, not agreeable to the prophecie. *Gaoidhil is Goill oc denaid combaidh daigionn anaiged sluagh Sasanach nach uilasa a congionn.* Distrust swayeth amonge us, the ould Irish families doe diffide in the English, the English families hopeth nee better in the Irish. But I propose, as a faithfull phisician, to searche unto the slidroote of this infirmitie, before I plaister this putrifyinge maladie, givinge you this lesson, as an antidott against the raginge venome administered by the spirit of perdition, a greater the furies of hell could not invent. Cornelius Tacitus, in the 217 page, recordeth that upon the declininge of the Romaine empire, the Tenulians havinge expulsed the Romaines out of theire territories, sent theire ambassadors to them of Collon beyond the Reyne, as theire confederats, desiringe them to race theire walls of theire citty, and to kill all the Romaines. The Albigenses answered they could not with saftie breake downe theire walls, and as for the Romaines, such of them as came unto theire lands of late, weare either killed in the warres, or returned to their natiue cuntries: And as for the ould Romaines whoe with them remained, and with whom they weare lincked in bloude and mariadge, they could much lesse comitt such a barbarous acte, without they had a desire to kill the Albigenses too. And if this be not a motiue sufficient to make a totum homogenium cum reliquis, take the sacred writte, and you shall finde that the whoore in Jerico, for savinge Josues spies amonge her hempe, had (notwithstandinge the citty was sacked by the Jewes) her conditions faithfully obsearved; and if God had been pleased to establishe the Irish Monarchy, could they expulse the English familie, in whom they are lincked, and with whom they haue joined and shed theire bloude? And therefore I would haue one of eache familie, in the name of the whole, to take the oathe of union and incorporation, that upon the breakers therof God may rise in judgment, as hapned in Hungary and Turke. All the euills of this kingdome proceede from our comaunders of ciuill and martiall affaires. *Taeile daoirse diothana* etc. Ecce hominumque Regumque dolus perjuria secum, aera pestiferum bella, famemque trahant. Truly they are soe emperious, they cannot be brought to question for any theire actions, soe that theire pleasure is the lawe in actu exercito, and justice in actu signato. Yett I am sorie the Lord desearues to haue them our gouernours. *Tug Dia is deibhinn linn ni coir lethfhir ar Fhéilim é do phéin ar an pobal, a thoil ó nach dearnamair*—nec Phelemei vitijis

675.

tribuendum est, quando mœrentem affligit populum, peste, fameque deus. The lord 1650.
 bishope of Killaloe, whose knees are corned with continuall prayinge, was deceaved.
 Our morninge starr noe sooner breatheth under this fatall clymat, but was
 ecclipsed; he caried not light to fower aclock, and soe the rest: And good
 reasone misgoverment with the abortive fruite should befall the land, and brande
 this unhapie gouernor with perpetuall dishonor. I finde that God bide Salomon call
 for any thinge, and he should comannde him, beinge soe rauished with odour of his
 extraordinarie sacrifices. Salomon was onely pleased to demannde, but scientiam et
 disciplinam, ut regat populum, Israell; wherfore God said unto him, because thou
 haste not desired kingdomes or riches, but wisdome, thou shalt haue both. But tell
 me, Sir Richard Blake, was this the petition of the comissioners of truste, generall
 counsell, comannder, or others? Noe truely, but to haue for his seaven daughters,
 seauen captains of horse, etc., lord treasurer, lord channcellour. I aske you but one
 worde, whether any man of the kingdome had considerable office; but they, or such
 as depended on them? It is said God was not with them in their battle, and I sweare
 he was. When Josua was comannded to leade the Israelits unto the land of promise he
 would not, without that God did leade him another, and he would not leade them
 himself; quia populus hic duræ cervicis est, leaste he should cutt them by the sworde,
 and soe the drawinge sworde of God killed us and not the enemye. Wee are soe
 impudent to upbraide our actions, that wee wonder wherfore the eternall majestie
 doth not wonders in this quarrell, as he raised the river of Jordan unto a steepie
 montaine; but you doe not call to minde how they raised seuerall stones from the
 uerie bottome of the riuer, ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Wee neuer disburste a
 £1000 to repaire any churche since the warr began; notwithstandinge God killed
 20 for euery one wee killed, and yett like hypocrits wee must be tearmed Catholicks,
 which penes nomen suteth with our conditions. The pallace mice and flatterers
 gaininge the benefitte of our sweate, as Vlysses had of Ajax, nos inhonorati et
 dignis respectibus orbi, obtulimus, cum nos ad cuncta pericula simus. Our cowes
 are hanged, and not the thieves; euery destroyer of the comon-wealthe hath the
 publicke faith obsearued him, and more largely then the counsell of conscience of
 kings of Spaine, wittneseth that of Lisborne, and yett wee haue not the publicke
 faith obsearued in any pointe, soe that I am of opinion they haue concilium
 conscientiae for us and not for them. Dixi. finis.

If you had obsearued well this speeche, you might conceaue therein the prime 676.
 objecte of this our historie, nay an evident prooffe therof, which is full fraught with
 displayinge faction and disunion, he ingeniously toucheth every man, both churche
 and laitie, obnoxious of either. You see what he speakes of the high cedars,
 leutenant comissioners and comaunders, deputie and recantinge prelats, with such
 eloquence, maturitie, fidelitie and moderation, though pinchinge, that none but
 such as are with nothinge satisfied may carpe at, or alledge the leaste sillable of
 his speeche not to be true, and genuinely applyed to purpose. He is the onely
 man of indifferencie of his name that I know now extant. You see what
 character he giues the government and its rulers, if Vlysses himself, which he
 meanes by Vllacke Bourke, alias Clanricard, but his reward was frownings, dis-
 countenancie, disrespecte, ossitations, to shewe therby their wearinesse and his

1650. tediousnesse; but the well affected were highly pleased, and comended such extraordinarie tallent in soe fewe years.

CHAPTER XXII.

677. THE inconstant multitude is naturally desirous of noueltie, and apt for change, hopinge for more then they should, and enduringe lesse then they ought, and euer in dislike with the present times. They consider not, that though they change their lord, they change not their tenure, though they quitt their ould master, yett they are still in service. They should therefore purge this humor of newefangled-nesse, and remember that if the same condition of servitude cannot be avoided, it skills not whether it be under Lord Iohn or Lord Thomas, and soe sitt still.

Plin.
Tacit. Hist.
Cæs. Com. l. 4.
Horat.
Virg. Eneid.
l. 2.

Romæ Tibur amem ventosus Tiburæ Romam.
Sæuisque animis ignobile vulgus.

A seeming
recantation of
the Assembly of
Loghreagh of
an instrument
against the
Nuncio.

Seuerall motions were made in this zeudo-assembly, the eiection of My Lord Nuncio, which was conceaued most haynous by the very aduersaries, for the maner of it, as the first of its nature in the Christian worlde. The compliance of Owen Oneylls application, as no. 575 mentioned, and others. To the first unanimously they condescende to disclaime in it in hæc verba.

Whearas, wee the nobilitie and gentrie of this kingdome, convened in this assembly, beinge therunto admonished, by the prelats and pastors of our soule, haue reflected upon certaine words inserted in a letter, subsigned by Sir Richard Blake, Knight, the then chaireman, by the comannde of the assembly, directed and sent awaye to the most illustrious Lord Iohn Baptista Renunccini, Archbishop and Prince of Firma, his Holinesse Nuncio in this kingdome at that time, dated the 19th of October, 1648, the words of which letter beinge these.

They doe therefore lett your Lordship knowe that there is a declaration and protestation in preparation against you, to be sent unto his Holinesse, importinge in parte the matter contained in the inclosed, wherof your Lordship may be pleased to take notice, and prepare your self for journey to Rome, and defence against that charge there. And in the meantime, that your Lordship, on the penaltie which may ensue, by the lawes of God and nation, by yourself or any of your instruments, directly or indirectly intermedle not in any the affaires of this kingdome. Which letter hath beene alreadie cancelled, and taken of the file of the records of this kingdome, upon notice receaued of his Holinesse displeasure therat; That the contents and constructions of them words might drawe upon us, wee haue conceaued it our dutie, to secure all apprehensions and feares, by recurringe unto his Holinesse, and prostrate at his feete, imploringe that if by the said words, or any acte of ours, or the then Supreame Councell, or of any other of us, duringe his distance betweene the gouernment and his Holinesse said Nuncio (savage allwaies the benefitt of the late apeale, and the matters therin contained, and dependinge therupon to all therin concerned), any censure of holy church, or his Holinesse displeasure hath

Note their
colloquinge.

beene incurred, wee may be free therfrom, and reccaue his benediction. Dated at 1650. Loghreagh, ut supra.

The articles (in number 18) and fore parte of the letter is not herin expressed, 678.

which had beene most unchristian as may apeere, by this pis-melle of it, all the charge is premunirie sett fourth in the acte of Queene of Elizabeth anno ii^o, against all such as bringe in foraigne jurisdiction (which is knowen to be intended by Papall authoritie), and this same letter doe allowe and confirme the same, by that clause that your Lordship intermedle not in any the affaires of this kingdome, directly or indirectly, by yourself or any your instruments, under paine, etc.; the penaltie mentioned aforesaid, is that of the foresaid acte of Queene Elizabeth; but how well this hereticall lawe sutes with Confederat Catholicks sworne for the propagation of holy religion lett any man judge. You may obsearue how sathanicall these ante-Catholicks doe abuse the lawe of nations (though neuer their prime benefactor, nor derived his power from the Pope of Rome, the vissible heade of their quondam mother the church), banishinge as traytor, against their hereticall and Henrician lawe, the ambassador of a prince, with full power invested, with solemnitie receaued, and sworne to obsearue and obeye. This fatall clymat of ours brookes noe such ambassadors, for we haue receaued by tradition that one onely Nuncio arrived to this kingdome before this man, and was in like maner abused, in punishment therof Wednesdays abstinence was enjoined the nation, when all the whole nation, present and future, was soe punished for such an acte in the infancie of their Christianitie, what thinke you will become of them, comittinge such a haynous offence against all the lawes, humane and divine, against oath and covenant, and in the ould age of their religion? But the authors of this execrable edicte is nothinge sensible of the punishment immediately inflicted on them by the omnipotencie of God, as sworde, famen, and plague, which in a transcendent degree is due (as by woefull experience wee see) to their contumacious disobedience, perjurie, and excommunication; for, if any remorse they had of those things, or weare any jott tender of their consciences, they would submitt unto his Holinesse censure in that excommunication, justly inflicted on them by My Lord Nuncio (notwithstandinge their frivolous and most illusorie appeale), and not except against it (as in this colloquinge submission is sett fourth), and the rather, it beinge conformable to their publicke engagment to Generall Owen Oneylle, upon the agreement with Ormond (as no. 575 touched), wherby I am of opinion that it were more safe and lesse dangerous to wage open warr with such perfidious people, then under the vizard of religion and honestie to deale with as Confederats, whoe are as our Saviour tells us, and comaunds to be ware off, lupi rapaces sub pelle ovina; and the Scripture in another place disciphringe sayeth, cor eorum longe est a me; but their hearts doe styre by a contrarie carde.

Queen Elisabeth and Henry the 8th lawe is here instanced.

The inhumanitie of those.

Another Nuncio banished by the Irish. Why Wednesday is fasted.

The fruite of excommunication.

This contrary to their publicke engagment.

Math. 7.

Math. 25.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CYNEAS the ambassador, after the first daies audience, could remember euery 679.
senators name in Rome, and Cyrus was able to call euery poore souldier by his Seneca.

1650.
Terent.
Salust.
Tacit.
Hist. 4.
Laert. 1. 5.

name, that was in the campe. Such perfecte memories as these men naturally haue of euery little wronge don unto them; for benefitts they write in dust, wrongs in marble: as well those they offer, as those they suffer. Therefore the guilte of havinge don a wronge, hath such deepe impression in the injurer, as he neuer after affieth in the partie injured, nor treateth with him in any senceritie.

Quid cito senescit? quid tarde? gratia et injuria.

This ante-
assembly dis-
solved.

This conventicle assembly dissolved about the 23 of December this yeare; the recent Deputie began most imperious to govern the Catholicks to the destruction of both kinge, countrie, and religion, and if Ormond was euer obnoxious of any such tainte (as truely he was) Clanricard shewes himself now more then any therin, though under the vizard of holy religion, as a conterfeite or seeminge Catholicke, whose acts mightie swarved from the principles therof (as hereafter more at large will apeare). You remember I made mention no. 669 with what character Clanricard was branded in the opinion of all reall and royallist of the kingdome, and how he was not ignorant therof himself, and consequently offended, notwithstandinge condescended to his promotion (for reasons there alleadged). But Clanricard promoted, as aforesaid, had as a naturall man a perfecte memorie of all these petty wrongs (as he conceaued them to be) don unto him, did write them in marble, and this last with many others in dust. Such impression did this comon injurer take and roote in his hearte against his loyall confederats, that he neuer after affyed in them, nor treated with them in any senceritie. As hereafter more at large.

The proude
behavior of
this Peere.

680.
Linacres in
Math. 5.

The Chris-
tianitie of
Clanricard.

This Peere in the opinion of Thomas Linacres, a learned Englishman, is not a Christian, or the sayinge of our Saviour in the 5th of Mathew (where he commandeth, diligite inimicos vestros, etc.) is false: aut hæc vera non sunt, aut nos Christiani non sumus, said this author; true it is that his disposition is such, that he soe strangely is affected, as he tender his reuenge equally to his owne life, towards those his reall confederats, his now plotts are how to circumvente, his traines how to surprise, his whole consultations how to inflicte due revenge where he alreadie conceaved distaste. Men of this nature are like the bulls of Basan, whose roare and roare, and when the preye falleth, they stare on it, and teare it with their teeth, whom may be truely verified this of the poet:

*Nec leges metuunt, sed cedit viribus odium,
Mœstaque victrici jura sub ense jacent.*

The same in English:

They feare noe lawes, their wrath giue way to might,
And what they plott they act, be't wronge or right.

681.
The naturall
and acquired
disposition of
Clanricard
disciphered.
Like his father
to be against
the Irish.

The disposition of this peere may be conceaued, either naturall or acquired. The first, for as Rome brought fourth the Pisoes for frugalitie; the Metelli for pietie; the Appij for austeritie; the Manlij for affabilitie; the Lelij for wisdome; and the Publicolæ for courtesie, which conditions soe appeared lineally in their successors, as they seemed representers of their ancestors natures, as well as features, noe other reason can be giuen touchinge these distincte affections saue those prime seeds sowne in them by nature, which produce not onely these dis-

positions in themselves, but dilate or propagate their effects in others, to wit, 1650.
those in whom they have stamped a likeness both of image and condition.

But to knowe or collecte how men are affected, by reason of this predominant disposition, is by three or 4 maner of waies. First, there is noe course in itself 1.
more directe or lesse erringe, then to obserue what delights they affecte, or company they frequent. The Emperour Augustus, beinge at a combat, willinge to knowe the inclinations of his two daughters, Julia and Livia, and obsearvinge what company frequented them; graue senators talked with Livia, but riotous persons with Julia; wherby was satisfied what temper they were off, for alwayes persons of like condition love to consort together; their qualitie and equalitie of disposition moues a desire of familiaritie together.

What company
the Peere
resortes unto:
that of Julia.

The seconde, to knowe the disposition of man is to obsearue with a watchfull 682.
eye how the partie beares himself in a passion which is of that violence that many times it discouers what he be, though his purpose was to walke neuer soe covertly from the eye of popular observance. Tiberius comonly couered his plotts soe well that none could diue unto his thoughts, pretendinge euer most smoothnesse when he intended a tempest; yett when his spirits became nettled or encensed, soe farr did passion transport him as his nature was aparantly expressed, without further character. Other manifest discoueries may be made, how men are affected or disposed, when they are least themselves; with grieffe I speake it as in a transcendent degree deuoted to Bachus; forgoinge the name of reasonable man, as estranged from the use of reason, drowninge his understandinge in that tipplinge excesse. In high Germany the parents of such children as should be married will see those which should be their sons in lawe to be drunke before them, to see what disposition they are of, before they mary their children unto them. For therby, if sub- 2.
jecte to any vice, will discover it, havinge noe locke to keepe it secret; but in this you shall discerie different humors, accordinge the diuersitie of dispositions of the parties; some lumpish, some jocounde, some weepinge, others laughinge. Wee reade of Phillipe, and his son Alexander, two distincte conditions when they were drunke: the one shewed his rage and furie towards his foes, the other towards his friends; the former is a more generous spirit, for nothinge can be imagined more ignoble then to triomphe ouer our friends. Soe nothinge relisheth of better resolution then upon equall tearmes and without bravinge to shewe our spirit upon our enemye.

Wittnesse his
passion with
the bishop of
Clonmacnos,
no. 670.

3.
His tipplinge
moode.

Aug. de
Verb. Apost.
Ser. 4.

In this is
Alexander.

If you yett insiste to see the disposition of man to the quicke discouered, and 683.
take of the veile wherwith tapissied, looke him in the face when advanced or promoted to honours, and then you shall cleerly discover what he is, and pourtrayed to life; this is the best lecture of mans anothomy. Galba was in the comon opinion 4
fitt to gouerne, till he did sitt at the stearne. Many haue an excellent gift of shadowinge what they are, like pictures, as long as they are obscure and privat; but bringe them to a place of more eminent note, and giue a lustre unto their obscuritie, you shall viewe them as perfecte as if their bodies were transparant, or windowes in their bosoms. Then you shall see one soe unmeasurably haughtie, scorninge to converse with these groundlins, his inferiours, and bearinge such a state (that was before comon) as if he were altered noelesse in person then place;

In his pro-
motion is
discouered.

Is both
proude and
haughtie.

1650.

Nihil difficilius
quam bene
imperare.
Diocles. dict.

The change of
Clanricard by
his promotion.

Neros begin-
ings and his
end all alike.

another not soe proude as covetous, for noe passion is better knowen unto us then the covetinge or desiringe passion, and such a one makes all his inferiours his sponges, and ostridge-like can digest all mettalls. Another, whose well tempered nature haue brought him to the perfection, as the state which he presentlie enjoye makes him noe more proude then the losse of that he possesse would cast him downe. This, Camillus-like, is neither with the opinion of honor too highly erected, nor with the conceite of affliction too much dejected. This sorte is soe evenly poized, soe nobly tempered, as his opinion is not grounded on title, nor his glorie on popular esteeme; he is knowen to himself, and that knowledge haue instructed him soe well in the vanitie of earth as his thoughts haue taken flight, vowinge not to rest till they aproache heaven. Pompey, combed with his honor, exclaimed to see Silla's crueltie, beinge ignorant himself after what sorte to behave in the dignitie he had, and cryed out, O perill and danger, never like to have end. Such is the nature of noble spirits, as they admire not soe much the dignitie of the place to which they are advanced, as they consider the burden which is on them imposed, labouringe rather how to behaue themselues in theire place, then arrogate glorie to themselues in theire place. But how contrarie to this doctrine doe our present peere shewe himself in this his recent advancement in the rounde circumference of this man (when not raised to the present height), wee noted diuerse honest and censure dispositions, whose gaine seemed to be godlynesse, and his glorie the profession of a good conscience, now wonderfully altered, becominge soe corrupte by the vaine pompe or triflinge trash of the world, preferringe the pudle before the pearle; we behould this man soe upright (as it seemed) to behaue himself without staine or blemish, virtuously affected and charitably disposed in his youth and midle age, and euer till his raisinge to higher honors; but the eveninge crownes the daie. What could be imagined better or more royally promisinge then Neros quinquinium? what excellent tokens of goodnesse? what aparant testimonys of a virtuous government? what infallible grounds of princely policie, mixed with notable precepts of pietie? Yett who knowes not how all the vices of his ancestors put together seemed by a lineall descente to be transferred on him, the paterne and patron of all crueltie, and the author and actor of all villainie, the plotter and practicer of all impietie; soe as, if all the titles of cruelties were lost, they might be founde in this tyrant. This our furie of revenge, whose heart is full of wrathe and ire, may be assuredly certaine, that his sumptuous banquettinge, his midnight reuellinge, his unseasonable riotinge, his phantasticke attiringe, and his formall courtinge, shall leave testimonie against him in the daie of revenge. Now lett us turne to our storie of this peeres proceedings from whence wee made our digression.

CHAPTER XXIV.

684.

Tacit. ann. 1^o.
Jero.

It was one of his policies, out of whose actions sprange many of the Florintine auxioms, to giue most assurance of his faith and freindshipe to that man whom he first ment to deceaue and despoile of his state. He therfore that upon such trust

disarmes himself and puts the sworde into the others hand, is guiltie through his foolish credulitie of his owne proper ruyne, for such actions as these are plaine perfidie in the one, and meere maddnesse in the other.

1650.
Philip
Mac.

Pace suspecta, tutius bellum.

Upon the surmishe onely of honestie and censere disposition in the proceedings of youthfull age and midle deportment of this peere, all that zeudo-convocation did condescende to his now promotion, which proved their maddnesse, and soone will displaye his perfidie; to trust a sworde unto the hands of such a man upon such a trust and disarm himself, is to be guiltie of both foolerie and self credulitie; all the new invested intentions are to breake square with all confederacie, and shake hands with disloyaltie and faction, which he thus begins.

The newe
deputies
treacherie.

In Conaght, upon winter quarter, were some Vlster and Conaght regiments, really for both religion and kingdome affaires and well inclined, specially Bryan Roe Oneylle, Alexander Mc Daniell, Colonell Daniell O'Kahan, Manus roe O'Kahan, Richard Bourke, and Randell Mc Daniell. Deputy Clanricard obsearvinge their loyaltie towards the generall cause, thought it suited not with his intentions (as aforesaid) their continuance in Conaght. Wherefore he worked with his minion, the Lord Dillon Costllagh (by Ormond apointed Generall of Linster), Sir James Dillon, Sir Walter Dungan, Colonell Charles Molloy, Colonell John Fitz-Patricke, Colonell Lewes Moore, and others, eiusdem farinae, to envite the forementioned Conaght and Ulster regiments to Linster, himself in person made the motion unto eache colonell respectiue, promisinge Bryan Roe and his Vlster partie to sende them their winter quarter in readie money unto Linster, and allsoe in the faith and worde of a noblman did engage his honor to sende them £200 in money, 200 musketts, and a quantitie of amunition and matche, as a gratuitie of his proper liberalitie, soe earnest I am, saide he, of the intended now service of Linster. To seconde the newe deputies motion herin, and to colour what he pretended, Costllagh and Sir James Dillon did write for them, assuringe them by their saide addresses to haue all things in a readinesse against their arrivall; Fitz-Patricke and Moore did write by Colonell Charles Molloy, whoe in person possessed them in the behalf of himself and the other two colonells to joine with them in Linster upon sight, to which they condescended. This tragedie soe cunningly acted and brought to its wished end.

685.

A partie of
Vlster and
Conaght forces
towards re-
ligion well
intended.

The fetche of
this newe
deputie and his
factioniers.

Colonell
Charles Molloy
agent.

Colonell Richard Bourke and Colonell Randle Mc Daniell, marchinge over the Shanon, came to Macoghlan's countrie. But Bryan Roe and his Vlster partie marched towards Athlone, there to be transported, and though invited (as aforesaid by Costllagh and Sir James Dillon, in whose possession the towne of Athlone was at present), with much adoe gott passadge; passinge now the Shanon, the bounds of Conaght, a randevouz was apointed by Viscount Costllagh, and his uncle Sir James, in Kilbegan, within 4 dayes next ensuinge, that those with all the forces of Westmeath and Kings countie would there apeere; interim this Vlster partie to quarter upon the 4 baronies of Kilkeny, Rathconrad, Clonlonon, and Moycashell, and notwithstandinge that this had its proportion of the saide cessment, Sir James Dillons regiment, with his then Major Fitz-Zymons and Charles Dillon, son and

686.

Richard Burke
and Randle
Mc Daniell.

The Vlster
partie deceaned
by Costllagh
and Sir James.

1650. heire unto Costllagh, captain of a troupe, did marche with his horse to the said barony of Moycashell, expectinge the said meetinge, impovverishinge it for 2 or 3 daies, beinge their onely scope and pretence. But the said randezuouz daie at hande, the said Dillon partie dissembled to have receaved orders from Athlone to turne thither, leaving the Vlster partie disapointed of soe much ; onely a letter came to them from Sir James Dillon certifyinge an urgent occasion to have forced that non compliance, and withall assured a generall meeting in the same Kilbegan within eight daies more, upon the receipte of this letter, this partie marched towards Ferkalle, desiringe Colonell Charles Molloy pursuant to his promise and ambashie, to bringe his men unto a bodie and joine with them ; whose excused himself that he had but fewe, and those on winter quarter, and would not by his comannde forgoe the same in soe unseasonable a time (beinge in the month of February), which resulte was too far from his former engugment that waye. I knowe not what amused him now, beinge soe earnest in a busines of this graine before, sparinge neither labour nor charges to bringe those unto the country, but now extant, will stirr neither hande or foote (though his loyaltie be knownen, his imbecility over swayeth his other intentions) : Thus frustrate of Colonell Molloy's compliance, began to suspecte some colloquinge mistery occasioninge those rubbs in the very comencement of their intended service in Linster, and though such a breache in such members alreadie faylinge was motiue enough to stopp their further tryall ; but to leaue noe stone untouched, nor pulse unhandled, where any benefitt to the publicke service might be expected, they marche to the quarters of Colonell Fitz-Patricke and Colonell Moore to be properly ascertained.
687. Arrivinge unto Iregan, there mette Colonell Lewes Moore, and from thence wrote their dispatches unto Colonell Fitz-Patricke, puttinge each in minde of their promise and engagment to joine with them for the Linster service, the one tould them he had noe considerable partie, and what number did depende of him were at present here and there scattered, and not like to be had unto a bodie this longe time : The other writtes his answeare, that he was sorie he could not complye with their desire at present, in regarde his men were assigned to their winter quarter in three seuerall counties amonge the enemye, and if they offered to leaue them places in a publicke waye they would be soone cutt off, wherfore desired pardon untill the ensuinge springe (quando solent reges ire ad bellum). You see what friuolous answeares those braue servitors of religion, kinge, and country giveth unto those their double confederats and associats, soe much desired by them, by importunity.
688. This Vlster partie, obsearvinge how they were beguiled (by such in their opinion hitherunto well affected), by faction and treacherie undermined and won unto a reprobate sense, they began to plunder and pillage whearever they went upon their returne, and specially Bryan oge O'Duynes and Bryan O'Dempsy, not that they deserved any such more then others for the present (that wee hearde), but for someould deserveinge jealousies, caried awaye all their cowes and cattle, and marched to Killihie, and from thence to Ferkall, as expectinge the seconde apointment of Costllagh at Kilbegan for a randezvouz, as afore mention.
689. In this interim Colonell Bourke and Colonell Randle Mac Daniell, with their

Theire perfidious adrese.

Charles Molloy, Lewes Moore, and John Fitz-Patrickes untowards compliance.

Deceaved in their opinion.

Conaght partie, arrivinge into Macoghlaines countrie (as aboue mentioned), did leade a very poore life, which to redresse, Colonell Bourke, chiefe in comannde, addressed himself unto the Governor of Birr, obtained the benefitt of a parleye, simulatunge to become of his partie, wherby borrowed time, with a quarter assigned his men untill he applyed himself unto Deputy Earthon, then resident in Kilkeny, for his conditions; thither poasted, wheare he spent 3 or 4 daies; which spent, returned back to his owne men, livinge then, by reasone of the cessation betweene them and the enemye, in farr better condition then before, and lesse dangerous; Colonell Alexander MacDaniell, chiefe in comannde of the Vlster partie, enformed of the absolute revoulte of these Conaght regiments, marched towards their campe as privat as he could, intendinge to surprise them, or at leaste cease on their armes and use them like enemies. But confidinge too much in the loyaltie of the colonells, thought fitt to acquainte them of his said intentions, leaste anythinge was acted amisse by misconstruction, which accordingly was don. Upon receipte of which addresse Colonell Bourke returned answeare that he and his were true servitors of the cause, and all he did, did tende onely to relive his men in that extreme exigent; wherupon they both conferred in person, and assured eache other of fealtie, wherupon both these parties marched to Westmeath, to attend the saide rendezvouz in Kilbegan. But those mushrome Dillons was neuer soe faithfully given as to comply with any their promisses, though neuer soe often assured by oathe and covenant.

This partie, the seconde time frustrated of their reall intentions towards the kingdome service, ambiguous what best to doe, Sir Walter Dungan (another brave pillar of comanndinge power in Linster) inters nowe to acte his parte of that falacian scene, desires them in person to continue their billette, on the barony of Moycashell and Clonlonan for 4 daies more, and did undertake by all the faith possible to bringe the other respectiue-faylinge parties unto a bodie, and would marche with a goodly bodie of an armie to Loe Linster out of hand, where he was sure to receaue a mightie increase of both horse and foote, these parties condescended to this third motion (though know to come from such another fonte as the former two), settlinge themselves accordinge assignment: Sir Walter Dungan, as practitioner of such deceitfull dealinges, takinge his way towards Macoghlaines countrie (simulatunge to gather people to the said rendezvouz), and turnes backe to Monterregan, to Ferkall, and soe to the countie of Kildare, leavinge the northeren and Conaght parties expectinge that never apeeringe rendezvouz, and soe deluded a just punishment of prodigall beleefe.

Havinge now to their losse tryed to the uttermost those neuer famous for faithfull, but infamous for periurie, treason, and faction, most sensible of the wronge receaued by Clanricarde and those his minions, desirous to turne to Conaght againe, to fishe there in pudle water, in reuenge of former affronts, the two Conaght regiments tooke directly their course thither, vowinge against Clanricarde as against a traitor of religion, kinge, and countrie. But the Vlster partie, caryinge Mr. Henry Dillon of Bellanagloghduffe in the nature of a prisoner to Faghny Ferrall of Newetowne, in the countie of Longforde, in lewe of £500 payed by him to Generall Owen Oneylle for the securitie intred into him for the

1650.

Colonell Bourke deceived the enemye.

Alexander MacDaniell's application for the recoope of those men.

The faithfull compliance of Costillagh.

690.

Sir Walter Dungan's cheating deportment.

In eache the parties are deceived.

691.

The Conaght partie, disavowinge in the deputie, thither marched.

Henry Dillon prisoner.

1650.
The Vlster
partie went to
the countie of
Cavan.

payment of that sum on the enlargment of Richard Dillon of Loe Baskneagh, payable by all Dillons, jointly and seuerally (as no. 465 mentioned), and from thence marched to the countie of Cavan, deluded of the Lord of Costllagh and his factious adherents, wheare wee leaue them for a while, and speake of other occurrences in that time hapninge.

CHAPTER XXV.

692.
Tacit. Hist. 4.
Sal. de Rep.
or
Josep. Bell.
Jud. lib. 5.
Plut. Alex.
Alciat. Emb.
126.

THE frogge and the mouse were better take up their quarrell than that the kyte should be their umpire; for it hath been a practice as ould as since Phillipe of Macedo, to nourish warr betweene two neighbouring princes, to the weakninge one of another, that the third, a stronger, might take his advantage, and seize upon both. It is therefore a prudent deliberation in the weaker (havinge smoaked his drifte) to compounde their difference betweene themselves, and prevent the practicers designed a plotte.

Dum sæuis ruerent in mutua vulnera telis,
Vngue læna ferox, dente timendus aper;
Accurrit vultur spectatum, et prandia captat.
Gloria victoris, præda futura sua est.

How publicke
and comon is
Clanricards
treacherye.

Acteth all
things for the
enemie avayle.

693.
Comissarie
Reynolds and
Major Standly
marchinge to
Dunore.
Irish garison
of Dunore.

It is too well known in these 3 kingdomes, nay in most parte of Europe, that Clanricarde, since those comotions haue bene, as well against monarchy as against royall and loyall subjects (which in Ireland is none of the faction), though promoted by his Majestie to the honorable title of Marquesse, and by the Irish to his now dignitie of deputie and Generall-governor of the kingdome, and noelesse is he auerse unto all that is Catholicke, or that haue any relation to the imunitie or dignitie of holy church (without the leaste grounde that euer wee hearde, other then his inative and acquired disposition to acte naught unto both ancient Irish and church), however, pursuant to this his intention, nourisheth warr or intestine broyle betweene his faction and the royallists, to noe other purpose, then that the kyte (havinge alreadie banished the eagle) should inter betweene both as umpire, and take all to himself, whose drifte he smoaketh, but will not, like a prudent peere, or a loyall subjecte to his royall master, compose the difference betweene themselves therby to preuente the kytes further proceedings, rather render all occasions of weakninge the Irish forces (as partly observable in the practice used towards the party mentioned no. 690 and 691), whose dispersion gave full raine unto the comon enemie to range at pleasure. For noe sooner was this partie out of Westineath, as aforesaid, then the enemie in all haste, in two seuerall bodies, marched thither, the one from Kilkeny, the way of Iregan and Ferkall, under the leadinge of Comissarie-generall Iohn Reynolds; the other from Trim, under the conducte of Major Standley. The butt and objecte of this Birr armie (as was conceaued) was Dunore in the barony of Moycashell, that soe privately marched that noe relation was had of it till within a mile to Dunore aforesaide, then began euery one to shift for particular saftie, as well liues as goodes, drawinge away their cowes and cattle towards the countie of Longforde, leavinge all else their substance behinde to the enemie mercie; onely Dunore, the magazine of all that

countrie, was manned by Conly Geoghegan, landelord therof, and though had a passe from the enemie, and payed contribution, did not abide his cominge, but left the matter of 50 youngmen and his stewarde, one James Geoghegan Mc Neville, there as safeguarde, comanninge them to make use of theire said protection. The comannder and souldiers therof, all fresh water men, more haughtie than imported, and more manly then venterous.

Major Standley, comannder of the other enemie armie, better acquainted with Conly, as to him payinge his contribution, enformed of Reynolds approche thither, turned taile from Tirrells pace towards Mollingare, which gaue waye to many misconstructions, that this was don least any humanitie should be used by him towards his contributor, and suffered the other as a stranger to deale alone with all seueritie. Reynolds, therefore, arrivinge to Dunore, the comannder of the castle, havinge the enemie passe, as contributor (as alreadie mentioned) pursuant therto, applyed himself to the enemie comannder, shewinge it and desiringe the benefitt therof, as not to enter by force into the bawon or castle, or use any hostilitie. The comannder answered that he allowed of the petition, but saide that he and his comannders must lodge in the castle, and his armie encampe in the towne, but comitte noe outrage, onely meate and drinke; the contributor desired this much under his hande, whoe denied to giue any thinge in paper, though by word of mouth made faire promises mingled with many treatates. The comannder of the castle fearinge the worst, and confidinge too much in his saide passe or certificat, offered to conducte the enemie comannder to the castle; but one of the souldiers on the battlment, obsearvinge him cominge in, and not knowinge upon what score or condition, timorous of some ill consequence (either out of rashnesse, foolerie, or distemper, or both) cryed aloude that he would shoute at him. Then the enemie comannder, in sight of the faire magazine of the place, and havinge alreadie hearde by publicke and flyinge relation how plentiful it had beene, takinge the souldiers braggs as an excuse to turne edge unto the castle, unmindfull of his faire past promises, turned out unto his armie (notwithstandinge the castle gouernor seriously assured him of proper saftie and his owne compliance, all which will not searue), but gaue comannde of advance unto his armie, and assayle the bawon, which was peremptorily acted, killinge without mercie all they mette withall, both man, woman, and childe. The warde did not knowe how to behaue themselues, as havinge alreadie forsaken their poastes, deeminge all to be well when they sawe in the begininge both enemie and their proper comaunder freindly cominge together, now seeinge the slaughter, and all turned to a contrary sense, thought it proceeded from the souldiers licentiousnesse; but the furie of the enemie, and the execution growinge still, the deffendants were both dismayed, discouraged, and beside themselues, esteeminge it rather a dreame then any settled busines soe extravagant channces in a moment.

But these poore men were soone waked from this supine slumber, for the enemie did advance without opposition towards the castle grate, over heade of the same was a dininge roome the enemie thither rushinge, wheare findinge a small windowe upon the castle walle, wheare they began to make an assaylable breache. The poore gouernor, obsearvinge the same, caused 3 or 4 men to make good the

1650.
Conly payed
contribution.

694.
Standleys re-
turne; why?
The enemies
inhumanitie.

The freedome
of Dunore
pleaded.

Reynolds pro-
mise.

The cause of
Dunores un-
happy takinge.

The fatall be-
havior of the
warde.

695.

1650. same by shott, whoe playinge somewhat remisse, went to relieue them himself in person, but presently by the assayllants receaued a deadly wounde, and was carried thence unto another roome (of which wounde within 48 howers died). Upon his faylinge others were both discouraged and killed there, and such as outlived forsooke the defence of the saide windowe, excepte one onely man, by name Wm. Dea, whoe couragiously behaued himself; an assayllable breache beinge made, permitted none to inter, maugre all their might, crueltie, and number, till a parley was sounded, a quarter of their liues granted, and the castle doore made open for the enemy, which intringe, this Dea forsooke his said poaste by the comannd of Reynolds himself, then standinge at his backe, leaste, said the comannder unto him, you be knocked to death by the souldiers findinge you in that posture. Rushinge now unto all the roomes of the castle, breakeinge chests and trunks—a very rich place it was, with all kinde of comoditie, gould, siluer, plate, broad-cloath, cambricke, holland, diaper, linnin, gallant sutes, as for meate, drinke, and corne in abundance, non such did the enemy see since he came to Ireland. This was it that occasioned the breache of faithe and covenant in the comannder, and the inhumanitie of the other, that receaued the contribution from hence, to turne taile and leaue his contributor to the mercilesse doome of a cruell stranger. 40 or 50 of all sortes were killed, all the rest stripped and pilladged that night and next morninge, makinge awaye all that was either eatible or venable within 4 monthes the chiefe comannder restored Conly the emptie caske of his castle, as contributor, but noe redresse of all his damages sustained.
696. After the takinge of Dunore, the enemy ouer-ran all the countie of Westmeath, placinge garrisons whereuer he pleased. Ballimore, a stronge forte belonginge unto My Lord Neutreuell, wherein resided himself at present, did wish seuerall times thitherunto to haue this enemy neere home, his neighbours havinge him now in Dunore, 3 or 4 miles distant (accordinge his former wishes), to endeere himself that waye (as beinge still of Ormond and his adherents faction) invited him to his house of Ballimore, whoe acceptinge the courtesie of the peere, arrivinge, obsearved the situation of the place, the strenght and consequence of it, beinge a throughfare towne, half way betweene Mollingare and Athlone, from each one dayes march, and allsoe an important seate to crubb the countie of Longforde, for these respectives, against the stamocke of their benefactor, My Lord Neutreuell, did garrison the forte, and within few dayes after could not brooke the very sight of this nobl-invitor, which proved the just judgment of God, and consonant to all policie. Though treason is loved, the traytor is hated.
1650. James Mc Neyll Geoghegan killed.
- William Dea behaued himself very well.
- Dunore taken.
- A very rich place.
- Covetousnesse did hooche justice.
- 60 killed in Dunore. It was restored.
696. Ballimore taken.
- Neutreuell banished thence.

[THE FIFTH BOOKE.]

CHAPTER I.

1651.

Wee comence the yeare 1651.

697.

Lip. Pol. l. 4. THE contrye cormorant makes his advantage of his poore neighbours distresse, and raiseth the market as he sees his neede. See a covetous prince will not affoorde one

barley corne of his asistance at a lesse rate then one of the fairest gemmes in his neighbours crowne: a price soe high, and his necessitie soe greate, as he can neither with his honor grannte, nor with his safty deny. But in soe disastrous a dilemma as this he is rather to stake all his fortunes upon one channce of hazardous battle, than to share with soe couetous, ambitious, and false a freinde.

1651.
Tacit. Hist.
lib. 2.
Plaut. Amph.
Guid.

Ah nimium quod amice petis, moderatius opta : Et vti quaeso contrahe vela sua.

There had beene at the instant at the comencment of this yeare noe martiall man of the standinge forces of the factionists now in Linster, except the relation of two reformed, or rather deformed, regiments of horse and foote that depended on the Earl of Westmeath, all the rest flocked to Conaght, but would to God those did not continue, as beinge the greatest tyrants, raisinge the markett as they sawe their neighbours distresse, would not face a single enemie in their behalf without they giue them for present satisfaction all they were worthe in this worlde, which was impossible to grante; the poore mens proper necessity beinge such, wherby were forced to stake all, both life and fortune, upon the hazardous channce of an humble submission unto a bloudie and cruell enemie, then to share with soe covetous, ambitious, and false freinds.

How cruell
Westmeath's
men to the
natives.

The enemie at this time did range at pleasure in all places and in loose companies in the countie of Westmeath; but Westmeathes partie never gave as much as an attempte on any enemie, rather followinge the poore countrie peasants and fugitive churchmen, drawinge fewe beastes through woods and boggs to the hazarde of proper liues and best fortunes, flyinge the crueltie and mercilessse behaviour of the comon enemie, whose like a diluge ouerwhelmed the whole countrie with resistance. I am an eye-wittnesse meself that some poore men of the countrie, and some of the religious men of Montefernan, goinge together flyinge (as aforesaid) from the enemie, whose followed unto the brim of a bogg; Westmeaths horse come afoote the other side of the bogge upon those run-awaies, highly abusinge them, and caried awaye some of their fewe cowes: widowes, orphans, and other forlorne and distressed people cryinge and howlinge in their pursuite, a pittifull sight, which, with the tearinge and fatherlie intercession of the saide religious persons then extant, did not mittigat or aswadge their ungodly inhumanitie. Others obsearvinge afarr of this impietie of their quondam associats, in sight of these verie actors did choose rather to turne backe unto the comon enemie then abide such proceedings, and dayly incursions of these Antechristian Catholicicks. All the reason they could render in the behalf of these exorbitancies was, that the house of Fyena (of greate concernment for the publicke) was too barren of meate and corne, and to keepe a garrison there must be maintained by the countrie, and perswaded the poore men to be patient, that satisfaction will be given, wherupon the poore men (though bereaved of their substance) was herby somewhat satisfied.

698.
The inhuman-
itie of those
seeming
Catholickes.

The unmerciful
behaviour
of West-
meathes partie.

False sur-
mises of
defence.

The enemie, triumphinge in the countrie, arriued to Fyena, and sent summons unto the forte. The Earle there then returned a negative resulte, but did not man the Tochar Castle, which was a demonstrative argument he did not intende to defende the place, the beastes and corne of widowes and orphans was caried thither, with a million of curses, upon the pretence to defende the place; but noe such doe

699.
Sumons to
Fyena.

1651. apeere, Christopher Nugent, the Earles Lieutenant-colonell, with three score foote
 Captain Scur- is there ; all his horse is scattered here and there. Captain Scurloge went with his
 loge revolted. troupe to theemie ; the Earles Lieutenant-colonell of horse, James Barnwall, a
 James Barn- brother to Sir Richard Barnwall of Kirkstowne, now and then in theemie
 wall, Leuten- quarter, not actinge anything to his prejudice, but playinge the ambo-dexter,
 ant-colonell this man, as his foresaid brother, was never yett true to the cause, a coward, a
 for the horse. periurer, a plunderer, and seuerally excommunicated. The house of Fyena was left
 Of West- soe naked by the Earle, that nothing except the said forced provision was left
 meathes cha- there, nay, not soe much as a stoole to sitt upon ; but all was transported unto a
 racter. forte he had upon the Shanon, in the county of Longforde, which was a cleere
 The Earle de- evidence of his faylinge in the deffence of Fyena ; to colour somewhat his
 sireth succor. intentions herin, tooke his course in person towards the county of Cauan (where
 The provinciall the Vlster provinciall councill did reside) ; arrivinge thither, addressed himself
 counsell unto Phillipe Mc Huigh Reylye, desiringe reliefe to defende Fyena aforesaide, the
 desire. onely bulwarke and gatehouse of that county. The provinciall councill answered,
 that if he did giue them the forte to be maned it would cost them too deare, or they
 would defende it ; but to defende it for him, whoe euer yett proued refractorie, did
 proue too much humanitie in them, notwithstandinge theire extravagant disputes
 and discouery of jealousies reciprocally, Phillipe Mc Huigh, with his proper regi-
 ment, and Alexander Mc Daniell, with his Vlster partie (spoken of no. 691),
 marched towards Fyena, in sight therof, the Earle left them in theire marche,
 poastinge forward simulatinge to scout for theire future saftie, and takinge a
 crosse way, was soone out of the way towards Termonberra, his proper holt on the
 Shanon : the Vlster partie, this in the prime of theire intended service by this
 peere beguiled, marched home, never dreaminge of his flight, addressinge them-
 selues to the governor of the forte, Lieutenant-colonell Christopher Nugent, to haue
 his admittance to place themselues with him, whoe in noe maner or reason would
 condescende to this theire honest and reasonable requeste, but must stande at all
 hazarde in the towne, or quitt all.

700. Whearfore, settlinge themselues in towne, 500 men were comanded to defende
 500 men to the Toghar. The towne did abounde with meate and drinke, and specially with
 the Toghar aquavitæ (liquor too well beloued of the northren people), those men beinge not
 defence. provided for at the said Toghar without either reliefe or orders deserted the place,
 and turned backe to the towne to see theire comrades, whoe at that instant were
 more like theire father Noe, when he cursed his son Cham, then any waye to
 expostulate the reason of the saide parties returne. The warieemie watchinge
 his oportunitie, havinge espied the passage free and the Toghar deserted, ran poaste
 haste towards the towne, that scarce had those poore men the leasure to call to
 theire hostasses for liquor, when hearinge a bloudie alarum, such as was more
 sensible and least in occupation runinge awaye, not stayinge soe longe as to giue
 notice unto theire carelesse comaunders. Phillipe Mc Huigh, by channce, had his
 horse by, whoe obsearvinge some tumulte, the clatteringe of armes, hynninge of
 horses, and the hydious out-cryes (as of distressed persons), beinge more temperate
 and warie (though nothinge vigilant, as one of his then encumbencie should be in
 such an occasion), more actiue then accustomed, leapt upon his horse, leavinge the

Gen. 9. Deserterd the place.

Tipplinge, theemie kill-inge.

Phillipe fled.

rest, as well comannder as other, to the enemie mercie, or to the goodhapp of an Icarian heele.

The leadinge starr of that northren spheare ecclipsed and vanished, all the remaine castinge of their armes to render themselves better exposed for celeritie, ran in a routing maner, never examininge whether advantageous or noe, nor usinge soe much manlinesse as to giue one glance about them to be truly certified, from whom, whether, or wherfore soe shamefull a speede? By this their supine carelessness and the unskillfullnesse of their comannders they were miscaried, either taken prisoners or killed, except fewe that overran the rest. Here was killed Colonell Manus roe O'Cahan, and many others, the matter of 300 taken prisoners, with Colonell Alexander Mc Daniell, Antrims brother. The enemie after this defeate did onely face the forte; without usinge any violence or force, was presently surrendred with onely quarter of their lives, thus those braue warriors thrived after their seuerall attestations to the contrary, and noe marvayle, as loaden with 1000 maledictions of both poore, widowes and orphans, nay, was publickly bruted, that these poore men here perished were betrayed by both peere and his substitute, which proved a tiranicall acte to shell the lives of his abettors, and specially his owne uncle, Alexander Mc Daniell.

The Irish killed and taken prisoners.
Manus O'Cahan killed and others.

Alexander Mc Daniell and others taken prisoners.

The enemie, now possessed of Fyena, leavinge a garrison there, marched away, and unchristianly used their saide prisoners, forcinge them to drawe their ordinance towards Mollingare; not that they wanted oxen, but to shewe severitie and disdain unto this nation, and desearvingly, as beinge distracted, rent, and devided unto seuerall factions, wherby enabled the enemie, and rendred themselves obnoxious of their now proper slaverie and future extirpation. All these prisoners were sent unto Dublin, and either miserably perished there, or were transported to S. Christopher as slaues: except Colonell Alexander Mc Daniell, whose was sent to Waterforde, and from thence to London, as hereafter in its due place will appeere.

Fyena taken.

The crueltie of the enemie towards their prisoners.

Fyena taken as aforesaide, Westmeathes partie, in many loose company, in the nature of Tories or idlers, ranged in the countrie, usinge all mischiefes unto the distressed natives, but neuer facinge any one of the enemie, though single he were: by this trade of plunderers increased soe numerous that his adherents were neuer soe many, euery captain in this irregular regiment is independent, euery souldier a libertine, and every garrison a comannder: noe priuiledge or imunitie obscurued either to place or person, to prieste, church, monesterie, or religious, pilladginge and plunderinge wheareuer they went, without regarde or exception of persons. Lodginge one night in Iohnstowne, in the county of Longforde, in the deade of night gaue a false alarum, the religious (then remaininge in towne) affrighted, ran away, not knowinge whether. The poore inhabitants, followinge their distressed guides, some were pilladged in their said pious prosecution, others riflinge the houses, by this ungodly stratageme already deserted, and within fewe daies the fryers house was by them demolished, with all that it contained, naye, the bookes, pictures, and other things belonginge to the very alter, unchristianly and heathezly turned to prophane uses, and not contented with these exorbitancies, went where the saide fryers and those of Montefernan were at keraght with their fewe cowes (their onely relife, caried all the whole awaye, and notwithstandinge seuerall

703.

The unchristian deportment of Westmeathes men.

1651. papall excommunications annexed to such an acte, and the fryers actually denouncing the same), would neuer restore any, but, that theire Leutenant-colonell, Christopher Nugent, hapninge to be in place of theire randezvouz, as more humaine then the rest, caused present restitution in totum to be made, what, should God concurr with such people, or theire comannnder, in any acte morally goode or virtuous? Noe—.

CHAPTER II.

704. HOPE is in the mind of man, as is the vitall spirit in his body: the first that possesseth and last that leaueth the heart. But hope fastened upon noe other ground but will is like the mushrome, which starteth up in a night, and onely of all other plants growinge without roote, is easily blowen awaye and perisheth. Soe doe the actions of men built upon this light sande and loose hould of willfull hope; because it makes that seeme easy and feasible to the eye of theire imagination, which reason and the event sheswes to be most difficulte and dangerous.

Spes nihil aliud quam vigilantium somnium.

It is sutable to our present purpose to speake heare of Fa. Anthony Geoghegan, Prior of Conallmore, in the countie of Kildare, and prothonotarius apostolicus, residinge in the Surbonicall Universitie, studyinge both divinitie and canon lawe, to his exceedinge credit, wheare receaued orders and comaunde from the Congregation de Propaganda Fide in Rome, to come to Irelande, immediately from his Holynesse, with privat instructions to be onely imparted unto the respectiue prelates, that by his desire may hould a national Congregation, and therin prescribe a modell of gouernment accordinge his saide instructions, tendinge to theire proper saftie, liues, and fortunes, till some waye reliued; for this purpose had many credentiall letters from the said Congregation members, and he onely to enforme them from time to time of the affaires of the kingdome, and the clergie acte; in vertue wherof tooke shippinge and arrived unto Galwaye, about the 14th of Marche this yeare (I speake heare accordinge the new computation), where fallinge sicke of an ague, could not comply with his saide designe till the matter of two monethes were effluxed.

705. If you will be soe curious as to knowe how amonge thowsands this gentlman was selected by the Congregation of Cardinalls for such an honorable errant, for your satisfaction you may obsearue that Abbott Crelly was a yeare agoe dispatched from Ireland to England by the Marquesse of Antrim, as proper agent, by like, to procure some conditions from the parliament. But the honorable peere havinge receaued some poore conditions at home, either by the saide agents procurment or proper industry, how euer his Excellencie, accordinge the iniquitie of the times, was pleased any waye to settle himself. The abbott by his continuance in England came to be acquainted with the Congregation of Cardinalls de Propaganda Fide. Theire eminencie likinge well of his good correspondencie, employed him agent there, to certifie them from time to time of the affaires there. To putt those

desires in due and plausible execution, he thought necessarie to haue some zealous 1651.
 person in the kingdome of Ireland apointed from the saide Congregation, both to
 promoue the ebbing affaires therof, as to keepe touche with that holy Congrega-
 tion, and pointinge at the Prior of Conall, at that present studyinge his diuinitie
 and canon lawe (as aforesaide) in the prime Uniuersitie of Paris: with whom the
 saide Congregation was fully acquainted, by the intimation of the late Lord
 Nuncio and his dean, Dionisius Massarius, now secretarie of that Congregation.
 The Congregation hereupon acquaintinge Fa. Prior of their desire, that he
 should addresse himself to repaire unto Irelande with such errants as pleased them
 to eneuat, and other instructions to further the saide designe. The Prior, upon
 receipte herof (not degenerate from his predecessours), presently obeyed, offeringe
 both life and persone for the restauration of holy religion in his now miserable
 countrie. The holy Congregation, possessed of his generous and pious resolution,
 caused their Secretarie to write unto both him and Crelly in their behalfe, whose
 tenor are as followeth :

Subscribed : To Father Crelly in England,

706.

Perillustris et Reverendissime Domine :

Pro complimento justī desiderij Dominationis Vestræ mitto inclusam ad
 clerum Hybernæ cum instructione ad dominum Priorem Antonium Geogheganum,
 ministrum, qui vult pro salute miseræ patriæ reparare Hyberniam. Vere non pos-
 sum, his literis exprimere gaudium pro tam generosa resolutione, in qua, si aliquam
 Dominatio Vestra habet partem, proculdubio etiam merito maximi particeps erit
 apud Deum et apud homines. Tuba canam ego in gloriam vestram, et ne parcatis
 laboribus, non sanguini, non vitæ, pro servitio Sanctissimi Domini mei, et pro fidei
 meæ Catholicæ honore. Quis scit, fortasse ipse Deus vobis decus, vobis gloriam
 honoresque servavit. Agat Dominus Antonius generose peragat Dominatio vestra
 et diuina gratia semper utrique assistat, prout enixe præcatur

Dominationis Vestræ Perillustris et Admodum
 Reverendæ devotus et verus servus

Romæ die 19 Decembris, 1650.

Dionisius Massarius,
 Secretarius Sanctæ Congregationis.

Altera subscribitur : For Father Anthony Geoghegan, Prior of Conall.

Perillustris et Admodum Reverende Domine :

707.

Dominus Abbas Crelly significavit mihi promptam Dominationis vestræ
 voluntatem pergendi in patriam, ut ipsius patriæ salutem quærat. Ego gratulor
 Dominationem vestram de tam pia resolutione, ac ut eo utilius possit opus perficere
 charitatis, instructionem quandam mitto per manus Domini Abbatis Crellij. Poterit
 Dominatio vestra executi juxta suam singularem prudentiam. Cæterum pergat
 Dominatio vestra cum spe Divini auxilij, et, sit certa quod ab ipso Deo, nec non a
 Sancta Sede Apostolica maximum reportabit meritum, cum totum negotium sit pro
 servitio sanctissimi Domini mei, ac pro bono religionis Catholicæ. Ego promitto
 quod nullam occasionem dimittam in qua possim efficere ut labores et pericula, ac in-

1651. commoda a Dominatione vestra suscipienda sint pluries recompensata. Interim Ipsemet Deus adiuuet, protegat, ac defendat Dominationem vestram in tam sancto itinere, ac felicissimum concedere dignetur finem communis desiderij, prout præcatur

Dominationis vestræ Perillustris et Admodum
Reverendæ Addictissimus servus et amicus verus,

Romæ die 19 Decembris, 1650.

Dionisius Massarius,
Secretarius de Propaganda Fide.

708. Intrustinge soe transcendent incumbencie, by soe eminent authors as the Congregation of Cardinalls, the linguiste of his Holinesse, to such a personage of soe tender yeares, as those letters, and other his privat instructions imported, is indicable calefication: let none thinke strange, this choice to be extravagant, this greate honor to be cast upon the shoulders of a youthfull joven, for it is as ancient as the seconde descent of mankinde that yeares are not reputed, but vertues. The service, gratuitie, and offerings of Abell, yongest son of Adam, were of God Allmightie accepted, and those of his eldest brother Cain despised and contemned. Isaac, the yonger son of Abraham, apointed by Divine providence to be the third pillar of the Jewes generation, and his eldest brother Ismaell neglected and left out of the booke of genealogic. David, the yonger of his seauen brothers, was raised by God, not onely himself and his posteritie to be kings of Jewrie, but allsoe our Saviour himself, as a badge of honor to derive his petegree from him, but his eldest brothers not spoken off. The Son of the Virgin choosinge his Apostles, amonge the rest called Iohn the Evangeliste, of verie tender yeares, the yonger of all the disciples, Juvenis ille erat notus Pontifici, a youth, notwithstandinge, was more intimat with our Saviour then any of all the apostles, made him secretarie of that Divine cabinet, ruminatinge in the retirment of his Masters bosome, what after he published of him to the worlds viewe, sayinge, to prove his Divine generation, in principio erat verbum, etc., wherby is called Aquilla Evangelistarum, the Eagle of Evangelists. Pope Boniface the Eight, of hapie memory, did apointe S. Lewes of the Order of Minors to be Bishope of Tolosa in France (that flocke newlie reconciled to our holy mother the Catholicke Church), beinge not passinge 22 yeares of age then.

709. Sure there was somethinge founde in this yonger sorte considerable in the sight of the Divine Majestie other then yeares, thesaurus absconditus, shutt up from all understandinge, except Gods infinit one, as the Holy Ghoste doe beare testimonie, consumatus in brevi, explevit tempora multa, that in a shorte time brought greate matters to passe; though yonge in yeares were mature and ould in vertuous tallents; hoare, not in their haire, but in their sense and understandinge; ould, not by the diurnitie of time, but by the gravitie of their godly life and catholicke behaviour. What then should any man thinke strange of the choice made here of our present Anthony (soe well grounded) for such a taske, notwithstandinge his yonge yeares, for pursuant to the alreadye motiues, My Lord Nuncio Apostolicke, when this man was scarce 24 yeares of age, made him prieste, bestowed on him that greate dignitie to be Prior of Conallmore, noelesse then to be Lord of Uper House of Parliament (accordinge the lawes of England in Catholicke times), and

Anthony
Geoghegan,
prior of
Conall.
As the list of
lords of parlia-
ment doe sett
out.

withall to be prothonotarius apostolicus, providinge of what stuffe this partie was made off, whoe both learned and taught (in imitation of S. Augustin, the lanterne of Gods Church, and holy doctors) philosophie, logicke, and all other authors conducinge to humanitie with greate acceptation, and learned his divinitie and canon lawe in the prime Universitie of Paris, as by both possitive and speculative theoricke may apeere; and the genious testimonie of the chiefe doctors there doe by publicke instrument auerr his integritie, censeritie, zeale of holy religion, constancie in aduersitie, modestie in behauiour, prudence in deportment, humiltie in demeanour, veritie in speeche, charitie in actions, gravitie in deliuerie, deuotion in countenance, and vigilancie in undertakings, are in this man in their fonte, not by any faininge fiction or humane acquisition, but either inatue or by Divine providence ingrafted in him. What then shoulde any thinke strange such a heape of dignitarie honors to be cast on the shoulders of a iouen of soe unreepen yeares, indued with those Divine qualities? And not soe yonge either, but his yeares may dispense with any promotion, how eminent soeuer, beinge 30 yeares of age at presente.

Receavinge therefore his comanndes, in humble obedience therto, tooke shippinge and arriued to Galwaye the 14th of Marche, as above mentioned, where was a kinde of a congregation by such of the clergie as then hapned to be extant, for the most parte Conaght men, Clanmacnose, Drumore, and Dune, from Ardmagh province, though by noe indiction or allowance of My Lord Primate, and fewe others of Monster were there; there was alsoe then in Galwaye an agent from the Duke of Lorraine, by name Stephanus Hinius, Abbott of S. Catherine, expectinge a resulte from the kingdom for the admittinge his master Protector of this Catholicke nation. Fa. Anthony addressinge himself unto the Archbishoppe of Dublin, then resident in towne, by whom he learned all the kingdome affaires, whoe shewed his Lordship his errant, as a true childe of the Holy Sea, was mightie glad of it, and advised him (in regards the faction prelats, Tuame, Kilmacho, Kilalla, Killfenora, etc., were dangerous to be priue unto those matters other then by degrees) to addresse himself unto the late dellegats, that asisted with My Lord Nuncio in all his troubles in this kingdome, as more constante and zealous, and to imparte the same to the Bishoppe of Clonferte (whoe hitherunto shewed himself a good stickler in those affaires). Fa. Prior thus instructed, to put all in due execution, conferred with Clonferte, and beinge sworne to secrecie, imparted him what he had in truste, whoe shewed a greate deale of willingnesse to second the same to his power, non obstante, revealed all to the ill affected, whom he knewe well to oppose in imbro ore, attendite vobis de falsi prophetis qui veniunt ad uos in vestimentis ouium, intus autem sunt lupi rapaces. Beinge therefore notified, as aforesaide, the zeudo-congregation did sende dellegats unto Fa. Prior (as sicke himself and unable to come towards them), that he should acquainte them by the saide dellegats (whoe haue beene Clonmacnose, Corke, Dune, and Imly) what he brought in comission from Rome: for their satisfaction he shewed those what he had, and did sende onely his lettres to the rest, and not his instructions: whoe missinge the maine pointe, and wheare styred all their drift, within fewe daies after, desirous to haue a sight of his saide instructions hitherunto concealed, tooke

1651.

The Nuncio's
esteeme of this
Anthony.

The objecte of
this Discouery
is against
Oliuer Deize,
his false
intimation of
this qualified
person.
Cessat latrare,
all this is true.

710.

By the Presi-
dent, Tuamen-
sis, you may
judge what
congregation
it be.

Thomas
Fleminge,
Archiepiscopus
of Dublin, a
braue prelate.
His advice to
the Prior.

The Bishoppe of
Clonferte, a
braue stickler
hitherunto, but
now—

Math.

The prelats
comes to
the priors
chamber.

1651. the paines to goe to his chamber, Tuaim and the rest his associats. But what he shewed was attested onely by the secretary of Cardinalls Congregation, which was sufficient by any indifferente judgment, notwithstandinge Huigh Bourke, Bishope of Killmacho, was not ashamed to affirme there in publicke audience that it was not fitt that they should keepe any correspondencie with the prior, havinge but a letter only signed by the secretarie of Propaganda Fide, and not by either Pope or Cardinall, which in his opinion was nothinge authenticke. To this he perswaded all the rest of the faction, an easie busines.
- Huigh Bourkes judgment of Fa. Priors power.

CHAPTER III.

711. Apollogicall abridgment of Fr. Huigh Bourkes demeanour.

LET none be offended for describinge here a breefe of this gentlmans behaiour. You see what judgment he passeth of Fa. Priors authoritie, because, saide he, it is onely signed by the secretarie of Propaganda Fide, not by Pope or Cardinall, therefore not authenticke. O poore shifte of an ould courtier. This man, a Franciscan fryer, could neuer be ruled to staye in one convent, nay, nor in any one kingdome, under the sweete yoke of obedience, runinge from courte to courte, that he wearied all the courts of Europe with his pretences, suites, and beggeries: with a subreptitious bull from his Holinesse to be comissarie vissitator of his owne Order in Irelande, arrivinge thither, his irregularitie discovered, highly empeachinge the province, was banished by the Fathers of the same Order; then went unto Spaine, France, Italy, Germany, Pollande, turninge to the Lowe Countries, went to Hollande and Englande. A generall Chapter of his Order to be celebrated in Rome, made all the suites possible to be member of that convocation (which none could be under the degree of provinciall or custos, wherof he was none), tooke his course for Denmarke, where 4 or 5 religious did lurke, findinge them out, promised those poore men mountains of gould for onely nominatinge him provinciall to sitt in the foresaid generall Chapter in Rome, and allsoe promised to carie one of the saide religious alonge in his company to be an eye wittnesse of his actinge in the behalfe of the furtheringe of that province in Catholicke religion. These innocent soules, beleevinge what they hearde, and havinge an ardent desire for the holy promotion of their native cuntry, condescended to his motion (accordinge the ould prouerbe, the lyer deceaveth the covetous). Goinge, therefore, to the generall Chapter with that bare name of Provincialis Daniae in paper, and though by the importunitie of many newe suites, was admitted as such to the saide convocation.

His frequentinge of courtes.

A subreptitious power to vissitt the province of Irelande.

His suite in Denmarke.

The prouerbe.

712. All this was by him hatched, beinge sure and certaine in his proper idea, if vocall in the saide Chapter, would there become soe factious that he would be a Diffinitor-generall of the Order (wherof are onely 12); but faylinge in his designe, was left in puris naturalibus. This Chapter finishinge, but his fresh endeavours comencinge, left noe stone unmoved, nor any courte unfrequented, insinuatinge
- His intentions herin fayled.

himself and his labours unto euery prince in particular, and to all in generall, becominge (as was thought) a double spie for eache, pro et contra, and euery one in numero thought him onely devoted unto himself. By this jugglinge, gott letters of fauour from Catholicke princes to the Generall of the Order of Minors, to imploye this man in some beseeming incumbencie, whoe by the often desire and pressinge intercession of soe eminent persons (though against his stamocke) gaue him a patent to be visitator of three Franciscan Irish colleges in Louaine, Rome, and Prage. The nomination of both locall superiors and visitators of those respectiue colleges doe (accordinge the statutes of the Order) belonge unto the province of Irelande's apointment, and the visitators power is onely in three yeares semestris: notwithstandinge all these rubbs, and the reclamation of the province of Ireland against his saide office, continually went to and fro betweene Louaine and Prage, as postilian onely to haue accesse into the Emperour and Kinge of Spaines courtes, as for Rome, Fr. Luke Waddinge did not admitte the execution of his authoritie there, nay, nor his foete to treade on that holy ground. Spendinge some yeares in those irreligious vagations, went unto Spaine, presented himself into his Holinesse by the intercession of his Catholicke Majestie, to be Bishope of Kilmachoe, the very worst in all Irelande (wherin was his owne brother, Oliuerus Bourke, a Dominican Fryer, vicar apostolicke, contrarie to the rule and statuts of his saide proper Order); his Holinesse loathe to deny his Catholicke Majestie, the motion allsoe pursued by the often pressinge insinuations of qualified members of the Order, not that they were any thinge tender of his promotions, or that he was worthy of it by any extravagant demeanour, but that the Order should be ride of soe turbulent a spirit, the fiat came to him, and was consecrated bishope.

His Catholicke Majestie, havinge soe highly obliged this man in this and other affaires of high concernment, aduiced with him to send an agent in his company into Ireland, and that he should asiste the saide agent in any his affaires there: whoe promised faithfully all to the kings desire. The Earle of Birrhauen (grand childe into O'Sullevan Berra, banished for adheringe into Tyron in his late warrs, and created earle by the Kinge of Spaine) was sent agent unto Irelande in company of this prelate, unto whom his father was a prime benefactor; all which tyes and obligations notwithstandinge, and the liberall benevolence of the agent himself, as soone as this Huigh Bourke arriued unto Kilkeny, conferred with Ormond and his factionists, became a prime member of it, and was as earnest against My Lord Nuncios censures, before then published, as any prelate coulde be. And not onely this, but shewed noe countenance unto the Spanish agent, accordinge promise, or in compliance of paste obligations, rather (as was truely bruted) worked with Ormond to shewe him none at all; wherby came to passe that Ormond was to sease upon his frigatt under colour to transporte his ladie in, resident then in France, which the earle agent thought to derogate from the honor of such as he represented, and would giue waye therunto. But Ormond desired by this some seeminge occasion against his person, ocasiones querit, qui vult recedere ab amico. Some such intimation came unto the knowledge of the agent by friendly intelligence, tooke the occasion by the foretopp, would not expostulate, but embarked himself,

1651.

His labours
and insinua-
tions to
foraigne
princes.

His apoint-
ment by the
Generall of
the Order.

Luke Wad-
dings opposi-
tion.

By the inter-
cession of the
Kinge of
Spaine made
bishope.

713.

Earle of
Birrhauen,
O'Sullevan,
agent for
Ireland.

The prelate
noncomply-
ance, betrayed
the trust re-
posed by the
kinge on him.

Birrhauen to
be imprisoned
hoysed sayle.

1651. his lady, and goods, and sailed for Spaine. I write this much that you may learne by it the ingratuite of the present gentlman, as an abridgment of his behaiour, wherby the curious reader might pry to his other actions which canot be other then disobedient, disloyall, distrustfull, disdaininge, distastinge, disaffected, ambitious, couetous, pertinax, peremptorie, captious, headstronge, littigious, wranglinge, inuious, ungratfull, and accordingly giue credence unto.
714. Is not, therefore, meere fopperie the assertion of this man, that an instrument signed by the secretarie of Propaganda Fide is not authenticke, because the Pope did not signe unto it? All the bulls, decrees, canonization of saintes, and flats of meeters are not signed by either Pope or Cardinall, excepte the originall, which is to be kept in archiuo Vatticanæ, but attested, by either clerke of the respectiue offices or secretarie, or by any prothonotarius apostolicus: and such faith and credence is to be giuen those copies soe attested as to the originall. This man seeinge the praxis herof in all the courts of Europe, canot be ignorant of it. Sed noluit intelligere ut bene ageret, he might be sure that the secretarie of that holy Congregation of Cardinalls is at leaste in attestinge equipolente unto a prothonotarius apostolicus, as by his place noelesse, and aliquid ultra, as a sheriffe of a county, is an esquire for the time beinge, et aliquid ultra: the suposition grannted, which is indeniable, the conclusion followinge, which is our intencion, is warrantable, and the former assertion illusorie, ignorant, and erroneus, however auayled for that present. But by the serious industrie of Fa. Prior, this Congregation comannned the Bishope of Clonferte, as secretarie of the same, to giue Fa. Anthony letters to be transmitted, importinge the state of the kingdome affaires (pursuant to his instructions), but called for severall times, many tergiversations used, but importuned at lenght, answered that he transmitted his dispatches alreadie, which was contrarie to bothe the Congregations sense therupon, and disparadgment of Fa. Priors authoritie. Thus did Clonferte (in whom had the Lord Nuncio mightie confidence) playe his parte of that scene; posuit manum ad aratrum et respexit retro.
- Huigh Bourke, his ridiculous assertion.
- Walter Linche, his inconstancie.
- Luc. 9.
715. It will not prove impertinent unto our proceedings (for the satisfaction of all such as will be disaffected by desire to be well grounded in this busines) to giue here a touche of Fa. Priors instructions from courte.
- Instructions from Rome by Father Prior to the clergie of Ireland.
- 1 First, to make a newe confederacie and union.
 - 2 Secondly, to giue his Holinesse satisfaction in the injuries offered him and his ministers.
 - 3 Thirdly, to institute a Catholicke Protector.
 - 4 Fourthly, that some eminent, constant, and faithfull prelate should be sent unto Rome.
- All which are both godly, Catholicke, and most conducinge to the comon goode of the nation and furtherance of Catholicke religion. But the zeudo-congregation of Galwaye and its preses Tuamensis did, viribus et posse, oppose all, and writes the subsequent addresse unto My Lord Primat, wherin he vents some what of his poysoninge humor.
716. Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Domine,
Non ignorat Dominatio vestra Illustrissima quomodo hyeme proxime

præterita convenerint omnes Episcopi regni Hybernîæ, paucis demptis, quorum infirmitas et temporum injuria impediēbat præsentiam apud Loghreagh in assembleya, ibi tum celebrata, et quomodo postquam satisfecerint gravissimæ querelæ laicorum contra acta apud Jamestowne procurarunt decreta comitiorum de aliquibus mittendis Romam ad satisfaciendum pro eisdem Domino Nuncio: Mittantur Illustrissimus Dominus Dunensis Episcopus, et Reuerendus pater, frater Oliuerus de Burgo pro qua missione Dominus Prorex subministrat media zelosè, et omnia habet parata, instructiones scilicet et epistolas: Rogauitque prelatos ut mandarent epistolas mittendas cum dictis Dominis, dictarum literarum per prelatos scriptarum copias, de consilio omnium, mitto ad Dominationem Vestram Illustrissimam precor-que humillime dignetur eis subscribere, et ad me quatocius remittere transmittendas post dictos Dominos proxima occasione data, nisi eos repperint Galuîæ, de hoc satis. Septima die Martij convenimus Galuîæ in appulsu Domini Stephani de Henin serenissimi Ducis Lotharingiæ legati, cum quo conventum est per Dominum Proregem super pecunijs recipiendis, assignatis Limbrico et Galuia cautionarijs pro eisdem præsentia subsidia recepit regnum si non recepit a meo discessu, futura speramus larga, quod Deus det; Dominus Antonius Geogheganus tulit ad clerum regni literas a Domino Dionisio Massario, Decano Firmano, nunc secretario de Propaganda Fide, quibus significat affectum etiam et desiderium Sedis Apostolicæ erga regnum, et quærit comandari prælatum et futurum promittit agere beneficium et proficuum literas videlicet ac proinde semper sedeo et sacras tibi manus deosculor.

1651.

Tuamensis,
his letter to
My Lord
Primat.

Dominationis Vestræ Illustrissimæ Addictissimus Servus,

Joannes Archiepiscopus Tuamensis.

Tuamæ, 8^{uo} die Aprilis, 1651.

CHAPTER IV.

THE tongue and the hand are unruly members wheare honestie and reasone have not the rulinge of them. The tongue is alwaies the more readie: but the hande in this is the more dangerous: that what is spoken may be helped, by supposition of mistakinge, or disagreement in the reporters, or deathe: whearas that of the hande apeereth to posterity, surviveth the speaker and hearers, and remaineth as a thousande wittnesses. Wherefore, as noe vice layes a more fowle aspersion upon man than that of ingratitude, soe noe evidence is soe stronge to tainte him therwith, or conuicte him therof, as his owne hand-writinge in detestation of that vice and approbation of the contrary.

717.

Mac. Disc. 3.
Plat.

Juvenal. Sat.
3.

Comm. Pro-
verb.

Vox audita perit, sed litera scripta manebit.

The veine of those petty Bourkes, Tuamensis and his two brothers, Huigh and Oliuerus, may seeme strange to any that is both well affected and fully acquainted with them; they cannot thrive but in faction, nor fish but in pudle water (pardon, sir); scarce have this gentlman finished the peremptorie time of honest student (honest because mendicant), when aspiringe to fly aloofe, with more then Icarian wings, was graduated of doctor in a hackney universitie or colledge in France

The condition
of those
Bourkes.

Iohn Bourke
graduated
Doctor.

1651. (wherof it abounds), and came to Ireland to acquire a purse for an attorneye in Rome; within a shorte time was nominated Vicar-generall apostolicke of Clonferte diocese, a great antagoniste of regulars, with continuall suite and mightie expense in courte, by the seconde hande to be made Bishope of Clonferte aforesaide, whose continued his vicarage for a longe time, till (accordinge our Saviour's sayinge) by his importunitie gott the fiat of a myter, as desired. The now warr of Ireland on foote, to indeere himself unto My Lord Nuncio behaued himself publickly conformable (sed non propter Jesum Christum tantum), till Molaghlin O'Quilly, of hapy memory, a most worthy prelate, Archbishope of Tuaine, was killed in Sligo, as n^o. [blank] whose obsearuinge his owne time, searuinge to purpose, that greate seate to be now vacant, dissembled the best he could; puttinge on a conterfeite vizard, shewed greate humilitie, obsearuinge all My Lord Nuncio desired, and zeale for holy religion in all publicke meetinge, wherby did win the goodwill of this princely prelate (the sole obiecte of his intentions), pursuant therunto he recomendes this gentlman to his Holinesse to be promoted unto that vacancie, which was imediately complied with.
- By craft elected Archbishope of Tuaine.
718. Clonfert, now seeinge himself seated in that chair of non plus ultra to be expected, and his pretences to haue come unto a full period, began to shewe that he did not degenerat from his former brothers, shoed faction, raised mutinies, disjoyned unions, seuered confederacies, dismembred associations, naye, opposed all the power and conation of My Lord Nuncio, and continues still unto this daye against the Sea of Rome, its ministers, nationall Congregation, and any thinge conducinge to the honor or profit of the Irish nation, in confirmation wherof you see his letter here, full fraught with leasinge, faction, contempte, and disdaine of both spirituall and temporall princes. He writes in a gyringe maner of the subsidie sent, and to be expected by the Duke of Lorraine. Tellinge that Fa. Anthony Geoghegan arrived, he makes mention onely of him as a postilian from Dionisius Massarius, Dean of Firma, to the clergie of Ireland, not mentioninge once his proper authoritie or mission by a higher power, rather cutts him shorte of all his paste and presente stiles, callinge him onely by his bare name. I say, Doctor John Bourke herin is uncivill, and the Archbishope of Tuaine is noted here to derogue from the Congregation of Cardinalls both missive power and ministers; whether Catholickly, civilly, legally, or learnedly lett any indifferent man judge.
- His colution discouered in his letter.
719. Is not with a brasen forheade he desires here the consent of My Lord Primat to admitt of his brother Oliuerus for agent unto Rome, choosen by a conventicle of factious prelats, and though he sayeth that all the bishops of the kingdome made choice of him, volens nolens, Mr. John Bourke, the contrarie is true, for 3 of the 4 archbishops of Ireland was wantinge then in Loghreagh. From the 3 provinces of Ireland was onely 5 bishops, Vlster, Monster, and Linster, whose were Corke, Imly, Clonmacnosc, Dune, and Drumore, wherof this last onely signed to that election of Oliuerus his mission, soe that onely the Conaght prelats (as suitinge to their factious principles) signed unto this election, fathered upon the whole kingdome prelats. Such another universalitie he useth in the disanullinge of James-towne acte, conceaued by all the clergie of the kingdome personally there, or by their proctors, and signed as a proper acte, and nowe derogued and recalled by
- A palpable falschoode.

these fewe Conation refraction. The Bishope of Dune and Doctor Meara weare choosen in the nationall Congregation of Clonmacnose by the whole number there, nemine discrepante, because this was more honeste then the other, and more legally choosen, as by the whole kingdome prelats, it will not stande, Clanricards archbishope will disanull this Congregation decree, as he did Jamestowne acte, and in disrespekte of both choose, as aforesaide, an apostat fryer, a publicke and knowne enemye to both nation and religion, a paterne of disobedience, scuerally excommunicated, a jure et ab homine, a double brother of John and Huigh Bourke by bloude and imitation of actions, and thought by his brazen foreheade to gett his desire therin of My Lord Primat, affirminge in his saide letter, as prime motiue therof, that the deputy Clanricarde did zealously prepare all things for their journey (by the name of all things meaninge onely his instructions), and comanded the prelats to haue their letters in areadinesse for them.

O braue, and because he saide soe, My Lord Primat must acte a thinge contrarie to both his conscience and honor, to recall by this both the acts of all the prelats in Clonmacnose and Jamestowne, wherunto he subscribed. It seems then that this prelate (by conventicles disanullinge those publicke acts, wherunto he signed himself, with an oathe to obsearue them to his power) did not peruse or put in use our former Aphorisme, for, sure he wanted not by those oppositiue contradictions, to the high preiudice of his honor acte, as he had don, to signe unto Clonmacnose and Jamestowne acts, and now himself with his fewe refractorie prelats, birdes of the same feather, and members of the same graine, derouginge and disanullinge the same, which are as contrarie as black and white, ens et ejus privatio, creatio et privatio, etc. Why did this man, and those his sequaces, signe unto the former acts if against reason or conscience? wherin is mentioned, that they were with maturitie and deliberation conceaued, and likly soe, for all the prelats were asistant, all the vicar-generalls, provincials of Orders, doctors and greate diuines, disputinge and canvassinge eache question, pro et contra, and after all was don, aproved, ratified, and confirmed, what was then signed by Tuamensis and the rest, and now himself alone with his fewe Conatian tribunes, and privat influence of that predominant planet Clanricarde, with his adherent cast-starrs, will disannull all this, what evidence more stronge to tainte him of partialitie, inconstancie, and refraction: or prooffe more pregnant to conuicte him of ingratitude to the Sea of Rome, of falshood to his religion and countrie, and of small respecte or decorum to his honor and reputation, then his owne handewritinge in detestation of his present, ungodly recantation, and aprobaton of its contrarie. Of all this was nothinge sensible, rather thought to amuse My Lord Primat, offeringe to induce his Lordship to doe the like abomination. Whoe, like himself, answered, that he would not onely deny what was suggested, but in his responsiue addresse gave him a rounde checke, and to the rest of prelats asistinge then in Loghreagh, as not complyinge with either the duetie or obligation of whom they represented, or haue don any thinge praise worthy, rather all dishonorable, irreligious, inconstante, and destructive to both religion and nation. This same prelat did signe to My Lord Nuncios excommunication against the contrivers, abettors and embracers of the Cessation of Insichuyne, and to the choice of

1651.

Bishope of Dune and Doctor Meara choosen agents in Clonmacnose.

Oliuerus Bourke, a Dominican fryer.

What zeale Clanricarde had.

720.

Tuaimcs intention.

Obiections.

In the disanullinge noe such maturitie, only Clanricards surmishe.

Prooffe against Tuaimc.

My Lord Primats answerc.

The signinge of Tuaimc and his recantations not like other doctors.

1651. dellegats to asiste with his Lordship in any other matter conducinge to that effecte, but soone after, upon his first conference with the schismaticall, reputed-supreame counsell, not onely recanted, but also oposed, viribus et posse, My Lord Nuncio, and this disrespectivly in Galwaye in publicke meetinge, contestinge with his Lordship for presedencie, which was too, too exorbitant and erronious; soe that this good prelate cares not to signe to one thinge now and to its oppositt after (though both be points of religion). The recantation of Catholicke doctors is still from worste to best, but that of our present doctor from good to ill—which is obseruable.

CHAPTER V.

721.
My Lord Primats desire to conferr with the Prior.

MY LORD PRIMAT was mightie desirous to see Father Prior and his instructions from Rome, not for any curiositie as the former prelate, but really to apply himself accordingly, as euer yett had don. Enformed, therefore, of his weaknesse occasioned by his jorney and dangerous infirmitie, and alsoe well knowinge all passadges to be mightie perillous, his Lordship did comannde Fa. Thomas Makyernan, a graue and religious father of the Order of Minors, and a prime stickler for the restauration of religion, to conferr with him, and did send by him the ensuinge letter of credence:—

Reuerende Admodum Domine,

His letter of credence in behalf of Thomas Makyernan.

Tuas datas 6^o Aprilis accepi tandem, quibus significas te habere aliqua a Congregatione Cardinalium de Propaganda Fide mihi comunicanda, nec quicquam super ijs quæ Galuæ ab appulsu vestro in regnum nacta sunt mihi ab ullo est comunicata. Quare rogo Dominationem Vestram, si temporum injuria permittit ut huc accedat mihi comunicaturus quæ comunicanda sunt. Interea Pr. Thomas Makyernan vel alius ab ipso deputandus in confinibus Conaciæ tuam Dominationem conventurus est, cui (si sit molestum Dominationi tuæ ulterius versus has partes tendere) intimare poterit verbo vel scripto, quæ mihi comunicanda forent. Interea Dominationem Vestram delectam adhibeat cautelam in negotijs sibi comissis, quod spero et opto. Dato 10 Maij, 1651.

Reuerendæ Admodum Dominationis Vestræ Addictus,
Hugo Ardmachanus.

My Lord Primats zeale.

The plaine stile of this greate prelate doe easily discover the realitie of his intentions and censeritie of his proceedings, and leaste any of the zeudo-congregation of Galwaye should misenforme his Lordship touchinge the mission of Fa. Prior, as Tuamensis have malitiously touched in his letter, he desired Clonmacnosc, a Seraphicall childe, and consequently most obseruant to the Sea of Rome, to write his testimonie of the proceedings in Galwaie concearning Fa. Priors busines to My Lord Primat, in hæc verba.

722.

Illustrissime ac Reuerendissime Domine,

In aduentu Reuerendi Admodum Domini Antonij Geoghegani, Prioris

Conallia, cum epistolis Illustrissimi Domini Secretarij de Propaganda Fide, visum est mihi et alijs Dominationis Vestrae amicis Galuiae tunc degentibus ob urgentes rationes praefatum Antonium inducere ut suam missionem, et aliquas e suis instructionibus congregato clero super causam Serenissimi Ducis Lotharingiae tunc Galuiae sedenti, saltem, quibusdam ut ea ostenderet, a quo erant, ut pars illa cleri Illustrissimo Domino Nuncio olim aversa offenderetur aliquantulum: Pars vero ei adhærens minus remissa in causa Domini Antonij comissa, facta sit. Vnde, ut solemus quisque abundavit suo sensu, et in nullo satisfactum est intentioni, aut desiderio Sacrae Congregationis Cardinalium per praefatum Dominum Antonium Praelatis huius regni significandae, licet Dominus Clonfertensis tanquam secretarius Congregationis cleri Galuensis rescripserit ad Reuerendissimum Secretarium praefatum. Quare visum est mihi et alijs amicis consentaneum, ut Illustrissima Dominatio vestra revocet suam provinciam in confinibus Conaciae ut mature consideratis negotijs et instructionibus Reuerendissimi Domini Secretarij commissis curae ac discretionem praefati Domini Antonij (quae praeter ceteris in oculis Sedis Apostolicae elucet) promptitudo et obedientia in rebus ad eandem sedem pertinentibus praefulgeat. Ego etiam conabor ut praefati censeantur ex utroque clero tam seculari quam regulari aliarum provinciarum adsint, die et loco ab Illustrissima Dominatione vestra assignandis per se, vel per suos procuratores, ut res haec fiat cum maiori satisfactione sedis Apostolicae, ad quem finem dignabitur Illustrissima Dominatio vestra scribere Illustrissimis Dominis Dublinensi et Cashallensi eorumque Suffraganeis erga sedem Apostolicam bene affectis, Bellalug vel aliqua insula prope, est locus tutus et conveniens ad conveniendum, iudicio eius, qui manus gratiae, vestrae officiose deosculatur uti.

Illustrissimae Dominationis Vestrae Addictissimus cognatus et servus,

Fr. Antonius Clonmacnosensis.

Clonmacnose, 30 Maij, 1651.

It is aparant by this testimonie of him, that proued euer yett constant, for the Nuncio, that Fa. Prior had a comission and privat instructions, not from Dionisius Massarius onely (as Tuamensis and his brother Hugo Duacensis doe calumniously averr), but by the Sacred Congregation of Cardinalls, though he as secretarie, in duetie obliged, did signe to them, which apeeres by the other clause of this extant certificat: that the Clergie of the Congregation of Galwaye gaue noe satisfaction in any thinge proposed by Fa. Anthony, to the intende or desire of the holy Congregation of Cardinalls. By this was knowen what he shewed, and the contents therin incerted, was both the intende and desire of that holy courte of Propaganda Fide. And to shuffe this matter off and bride confusion in the auditorie, like an uncivill taverne house, euery one abounded in his owne sense, though against one another, yett the most parte agreede to be against the Sea of Rome and its ministers; and to shewe in effecte this much, they caused Clonferte, as secretarie, to write unto the secretarie of Propaganda Fide, and this onely not for complyinge with his desire, but that it was contrarie to his instructions, or rather the sacred Congregations: *Judicet Deus inter me et vineam istam.*

By this time now Fa. Thomas Makyernan with his credentialls (as afore-

1651.

Clonmacnose
his letter to
My Lord Pri-
mat in the be-
half of Father
Prior.

The constancie
of Clonmac-
nose.

An inductive
sense of this
lettre.

723.

1651.
Thomas
Makyernan
came to Father
Prior.

Costllagh, Sir
Luke, and Sir
James Dillon
treatinge of the
surrender of
Athlone.

Sir James
Dillon, Sir
Robert Thal-
bott, Iohn
Bellewe and
Stephen Dexter
agents to the
emie.

Father Priors
letter to My
Lord Primatt.

mentioned) arrived to Raghra in the Kings countie in the begininge of June, where Fa. Prior was at presente, with whom he seriously conferred, whoe might bouldly open unto him the secret retirments of his hearte, which he did, and addressinge himself for jorney, in his company to the northe, went into an iland of Loghrye, wheare fryers minors had theire aboade then, what did they obsearue butt Costllagh and his two uncles, Sir Luke and Sir James Dillon, privatly in Rapadine, in a conventicle, treatinge of the surrender of the towne and castle of Athlone to the comonemie, which was in agitation this halfe yeare at leaste, by Sir Robert Thalbott, Sir James Dillon, Iohn Bellewe, and Stephen Dexter by Costllagh apointed agents betweene himself and the deputy Earthon for that purpose. Fa. Prior, obsearvinge these distempers, and the eminent danger of his proper saftie to putt himself into jorney, the emie alreadie marchinge towards Athlone, and allsoe to giue notice unto his uncle, Terence Coghlan, chanced his course, and by Fa. Thomas Makyernan writtes the ensuinge letter unto My Lord Primat:

Illustrissime ac Reuerendissime Patrone mi colendissime :

Vestras per latorem Reuerendum Admodum P. Fr. Thomam Makyernan recepi literas et eidem quæ pro presenti comunicanda sensui ex ijs quæ Illustrissimus Dominus Secretarius Sacræ Congregationis Eximiorum Dominorum Cardinalium de Propaganda Fide mihi comisit impertitus sum, sicut et processum Episcoporum, quibus in appulsu Galuæ obuiam factus sum, fuse enarraui de quo, hic reticenda, præfatus pater gratiæ vestræ dicet. Coeterum adviscendum gratia vestram eo nunc profecturus ab ipso itinere, disuadent, tum prædictus Pater Thomas, tum alij amici animaduertentes varias comunis hostis incursiones, atque inde itinerandi periculum: verum ubi primum commode potero illuc accedam. Interea lator poterit omnia ex parte mei Dominationi vestræ Illustrissimæ proponere, atque fusius, quas comunicanda habui exponere, sicut et quæ super negotijs facienda concipit insinuare, ut patrocínio, consilio, et directione vestra satisfactoria Illustrissimæ Dominationis Domini Secretarij epistola respondeatur, cum alioqui ex responso ab Episcopis Galuæ congregatis dato ijsdem literis ad mentem Sacræ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide non sit conformiter responsum et Deum viuum Illustrissimæ Dominationis vestræ summe propitium imprecans, manus submissee deosculor, uti gratiæ vestræ

Addictissimus servus verus

4º Junii, 1651.

Antonius Geoghegan.

In dorso sic :

Illustrissimo Reuerendissimo ac Patrono suo Colendissimo Domino Hugoni Archiepiscopo Armachano, Totius Hiberniæ Primati, etc.

CHAPTER VI.

724.
Tacit. Hist.
lib. 12.

SOME men are safe, but not secure: such are they, whoe after a foule facte secretly comitted, or a greate wronge closely offered, have a conscience of the

guilte still dwellinge in them, though the danger of the punishment be over past, 1651.
 for albeit they labour to hide it from others, and by all veiles of artefice to keepe Senec.
 it from the light, yett can they neuer perswade themselues but that it is knowne ; Lucan. l. 5.
 and therfore as they in theire nature ever feare the partie wronged, soe the other Juven. Sat. 13.
 in his reason should neuer affye in them, for there is noe sinceritie in reconciled Ovid. Pont. i.
 enemies.

Pœnitēt ō, si quid miserorum creditur ulli,
 Pœnitēt, et factō torqueor ipse meo !

Wee haue made mention, no. 715, of Fa. Anthony Geoghegans instructions from the courte of Rome to the prelates of Ireland, to choose a Catholick protector for the nation, and in the subsequent number, in Tuamensis his letter unto My Lord Primat, there is a touche given of the Duke of Loraigues agent, the Abbott of S. Catherine, to have arrived unto Galwaye with a present subsidie. That you understande the grounds of this, you maye obsearue that the well affected of this kingdome, conceavinge it, at its last period of ebbinge (occasioned by treason and faction), did seuerall times in publicke assemblies moue to make choice, and call for some Catholicke prince to be protector of this nation ; this often moued, pro et contra, wherby fell to various intentions whoe should be the man, some would haue the kinge of Spaine, others the kinge of France ; others none of both, renderinge for reason, that these two greate Catholicke monarches were alreadie aduersaries eache to other, and choosinge the one for that purpose, the other would diswade both from beinge elected ; thus noe agreement of voices herin apeeringe, after longe debate, by comon consent, did nominat and electe his highnesse the Duke of Lorraine, a Catholicke and riche prince, a greate warriour, and a man mightie desirous of honor, and consequently of any employment conducinge to the same.

The Duke of
 Lorraine
 choosen Pro-
 tector of the
 nation.

This agreeede upon, dispatches were sent unto his Highness importinge the nations desire, wherupon his Highnesse was pleased both to embrace the said motion and send a proper agent, the Abbott of S. Catherine, Stephanus Hinius, with £20,000 subsidie, and invested with power to treat with the nation touching their saide desire ; whoe arrivinge to Galwaye makinge knowen his errant, wherupon a grand councell (to avoide the name of assembye) did sitt and treat of the busines, examininge whether behooufull or noe, many rubbs did apeere, many factious ambages used, many tergiuersations and delayes inuented, much time spent without benefitt, Deputie Clanricarde, conceauinge some indifferencie in the saide councell, would admitt noe power or authoritie to reside in either assembly, grannde councell, or comittee to make or receaue conditions with his Highnesse, or any other foraigner, other then in himself imediately, this moued by him, was by factions and subreptitious votes agreeede upon, the power therefore onely existinge in him, must choose agents for that purpose suitinge to his intentions, as neere as he maye, pursuant therto did nominat the Viscount Taaffe, Sir Nicholas Plunkett, and Geffry Browne agents to the Duke of Lorraine, whoe with full power were authorized to treat and conclude, upon what condition they thought in their discretion beneficiall for the nation, loaden with this omni-

725.

Stephanus
 Hinius, Abbott
 of S. Catherine,
 agent for his
 Highnesse.

Clanricards
 power.

Viscount
 Taaffe, Sir
 Nicholas
 Plunkett and
 Geffry Browne,
 agents by
 Clanricarde
 appointed to
 the Duke of
 Lorraine.

1651.

moda potestas, were dispatched from Galwaye, the Dukes agent still continuinge in the kingdome accordinge orders expectinge freshe instructions from his master, and the nation resulte from time to time to be transmitted. Those agents arrivinge to Bruxells in the Lowe Countries, wheare his Highnesse was at present. But before they did conclude any thinge with his Highnesse, enformed of the Bishope of Fearnese beinge in the same towne, did conceaue fittinge to be adviced in such an important affaire by the prelate, pursuant therto did dispatche their proper addresse unto his Lordship settinge fourth their saide desire, in returne therof writes unto them, amonge the rest the subsequent, sent unto Oliuer Darcy, Bishope of Drumore, by Clanricarde.

A copie of parte of a letter from the Bishope of Fearnese to the Lord Taaffe, Sir Nicholas Plunkett, and Geffry Browne, Agents for the Duke of Lorraine.

726.

The Bishope
of Fearnese
letter of ad-
vice for the
said agents.

Clanricards
incomies.

Note well.

I doe with all censeritie offer my owne opinion what is to be done by you in this exigent, which is, to the end the agreement you are makinge with his Highnesse the Duke of Lorraine become profittable to the nation and acceptable in the eyes of God, that you will immediately, with humble heartes, make submission to his Holinesse in the name of the nation, and begg the apostolicall benediction, that the light of wisdom, the spirit of fortitude, victory, grace, successe, and those blessings of God wee one time enjoyed, maye returne againe unto us. The necessitie of doinge this the greater, that the person from whom you came with authoritie is for severall causes excommunicated, a jure et ab homine, and is at Rome accounted a greatesse contemner of the authoritie and dignitie of churchmen, and persecutor of My Lord Nuncio and some bishops, and other churchmen. Some of his owne letters came faire for the purpose herof. You maye be pleased to call to minde that he, though much and often moved therunto, never ioyned with the Confederat Catholicks untill he founde the oportunitie of bearinge downe the Popes Nuncio, and had the Lord of Insichyne (whoe not longe before dyed his hands in the bloude of priestes and innocent soules in the Church or Rock of S. Patricke in Cashell) to cope with him in societie of armes. The nation hath noe cause nowe of joye in that communication of those two starrs. Doe you thinke God will prosper a contracte grounded upon the authoritie of such a man? If some other waye be not founde of reconcilinge him unto us? that therefore what is prophane maye be made holy, and what is rotten sounde. Saye in the name of the nation with the prodigall childe, surgam et ibam ad patrem meum et dicam ei, pater peccavi in cælum et contra te, and immediately goe to his Holinesse Inter-Nuncio in this citty to make this hapie submission, quia nescit tarda molimina spiritus sancti gratia, this beinge don, goe on cheerfully in the contracte with this most Catholicke prince, whoe did he rightly knowe the busines without such submission would neuer enter upon a bargaine to preseeve or rather restore holy religion in a kingdome, and with agents bringinge their authoritie from a withered, accursed hande, and God will send his angell of strenght and light before the people, at leaste many of them, whoe lyinge in darknesse and shackled with the irons of excommunication, etc.

This letter was written the begininge of July, 1651. Pursuant to this advice 1651.
of My Lord Bishope of Fearnese, the agents haue don accordingly, submitted, as
herin suggested, and after concluded with the Duke, whose articles are as followeth.

Articuli transactionis initæ inter serenissimum Principem Carolum Quartum, Dei 727.
gratia Lotharingiæ Ducem, etc., Et Theobaldum Vice-Comitem Taaffe, Nicholaum
Plunkettum, equitem auratum et Galfridum Browne armigerum, Deputatos et
potestatem habentes ex parte Regni et Populi Hybernæ.

Serenissimus Lotharingiæ Dux in verum ac regium Hybernæ protectorem (quod The trans-
etiam ad ejus heredes, successoresque transibit) conotabiturque assumetur, ac actions or
publice habebitur, collata in eum hoc nomine omnimodo regni administratione, articles of
potestate, autoritate, cæterisque rerum apicibus ad regium protectorem recte agreement for
spectantibus, juxta conditiones his subsequentibus articulis spectatim explicandas. the protector-
ships of the
Duke of
Lorraine.

Ac primo quidem cum in hoc tractatu potissimum Religionis causa versetur
equum posciscantibus visum est ab imploranda summi Pontificis benedictione ope
que paterna, rem totam auspicari, quam opem, ut sibi tam in divinis quam in
humanis non defuturum sperant, ita se in perpetuo Sedis Apostolicæ suæque
Sanctitatis obsequio ac fide constantissime permansuros protestantur.

Ad ea vero suscipiendæ a sua Celsitudine huiusce protectionis rationem cum eo
demum accesserit ut in hostibus Regis Magnæ Britaniæ bello persequendis operam
quoque suam consociet, eique quantum in se situm erit opitulabitur: tantum abest
a consilio quicquam de jure in eadem Hybernæ regio decerpenti, ut potius testatum
vellet, paratum esse animo post restitutam in debitum statum religionem, regnum
omni se in manus suæ Majestatis autoritate abdicandi, profusis prius sumptibus in
eam rem præ expensis quos ad exitus, ut præveniri possit, prædictorum populi et
regni obedientia et fides, suæ Celsitudini addicetur, alterius cui quis superioritati
nequaquam obnoxia, sicuti sua Celsitudo partibus suis non deerit ad expellendos
inde hæreticos religionis Regis perduelles, nec non ad res fidelium hujusce regni
subditorum recuperandas, tuendasque supremum armorum in eodem regno im-
perium tam presente quam futuro tempore delectus militaris, cæteræque belli
gerendi rationes a sola suæ Celsitudinis persona, nutuque dirigentur, aut alterius
fidem Catholicam profitentis, quem in sui absentis vicem, pro arbitrio subdelegare
voluerit, seclusis omnibus quibuscunque.

Præcautum quoque est, et utrimque provisum ne sua Celsitudo in regnum
urbes, ac loca, ipsi cautionis titulo conceditæ, quicquid nova, et rerum inducat
securitatibus, privilegijs, immunitatibus, proprietatibus, bonis, latefundis, statibus,
aut omnino primarijs regni legibus adversantia, sed horum omnium fruitionem,
fidelibus regni subditis integram illibatamque servabit: retenta tamen sibi, si quid
deinceps in boni publici detrimentum acciderit remedij ferendi autoritate.

Quoad iudiciorum exercendorum rerumque civilium procuracionem attinet, hoc
etiam in conventionem venit, omnia secundum fundamentales regni legis, et formulam
policiæ a sua Majestate gubernatore, comitijs institutæ, absque ulla inovatione,
processura, comitorum autem habendorum ratio eadem ante hac constabit, nisi
quid sub ortis adversus regimen quærimonijs, aut urgentibus negotiorum momentis
extraordinem peragendum erit, quibus casibus quemadmodum prisca regni jura
privilegiaque deprecantur.

1651.

Prædictorum comitiorum indictio penes suæ Celsitudinis arbitrium erit.

Postquam vero Deus optatos hoc in regni sucessus religioni suæque Celsitudinis armis indulerit. Si Comitiji publicis operepræitium videbitur supetia suæ Majestati submitti aduersus hostes in alijs suis regnis debellandos, ad id consilij jam nunc sua Celsitudo incunctanter accedit. Quod si urgente rerum necessitate suæ Celsitudinis iter in Hyberniam impediri fortasse cogatur, in ejus delectu et voluntate iam tunc erit aliquem Catholicæ pietatis virum quemcunque talibus curis haud imparem indicaverit huic obeundo muneri substituere, a quovis alio independentem, qui etiamsi suæ Celsitudini visum fuerit, in comunione omnium conciliorum sive ad statum sive ad politicam pertinentium pari jure cum cæteris consiliarijs legitime constitutis adhibeatur.

Urbes, Castella, et latifundia, ab hostium manibus erepta, ad legitimos dominos revertantur in partibus Catholicis constanter perseverantes sub imperio suæ Celsitudinis, eiusque utique erit ijsdem in alijsque arcibus, munitionibus ad libitum prout commodo et securitati nationis, suæque expedire censuerit, præsidia imponere.

Quæ quidem, cæteræque copiæ atque adeo omnes exercitus stipendia capient, tum ex regni vectigalibus, prout ejus ratio ferre poterit. Tum supplimenti loco ex proprio suæ Celsitudinis ærario, cauta hujusmodi pecuniæ præfatione sicut alia Catholicorum sumptuum, qui in similes usus, consumpti sunt, aut in posterum insumentur.

Hostium vero, aut damnatorum pœna aut præitium aut remunerandis ijs qui fortiter se pro religione, regnoque gesserint, prout suæ Celsitudini equius iudicabitur, consultis super hoc comitijs generalibus.

Præter viginti librarum Anglicarum milia, iam in usus regni numerata pro expensa sua Celsitudo eam pecuniæ summam, armorum, navium, munitionum, omnesque aparatus, comeatusque bellici, vim atque copiam supeditabit, quæ nec supra illius facultates sint, nec infra belli continuandi regnique recuperandi necessitatem. Cujus omnis pecuniæ recuperationem, tum, quæ ad hostem attinet: tum quæ ad proventus annuos in legitimam stipulationem deductos universa gens Hybernæ ad ultimam usque solutionem erga Celsitudinem suam obligata subiacebit, in ejusque rei cautelam, infra dictæ urbes, nimirum Galuensem, Limbricensem, Sligoniensem, Athloniensem, cum arce Waterfordensi et Regia Duncana arx: Si tamen ob hostium occupationem liberabitur, in manus ac possessionem suæ Celsitudinis, ejusque hæredum ac successorum consignata ad integrum usque (ut jam supra expressum) satisfactionem permanebunt. Hoc insuper utrimque conducto, quod prædictæ urbes, arces, et castella debita versus suam Celsitudinem ejusque hæredes ac successores, fide, præsidia ab ipsis inissa cum opus fuerit admittere, nullo prætextu detrectabunt, promptamque ipsis obedientiam vigore præsentium transactionum exhibebunt.

Cum vero collectæ fient ad prædictam pæcunia, tam summæ capitalis, quam proventuum armorum in legitimam stipulationem deductorum suæ Celsitudini persoluendam taxæ, sectionesque priuatorum bonis ac censibus imponentur, idque sui cujusque partem æquali proportionem distribuendam non ex comitiorum generalium præscripto attemperandam.

Præfati vero deputati cum sua Celsitudine convenient de certa quadam methodo, qua censurus accuratusque impensorum ab eo pro regni commodis facturum cal-

catus, ratioque iniri, ac subduci queat, certas personas ad id muneris proponendum 1651.
a comitijs tamen generalibus licite ipsis placuerit mutandos.

Denique neque de inducijs, nec de armorum cessationibus, nec de pace quicquam
sua Celsitudo dissentientibus dellegato et comitijs, nec vicissim delectus et comitia
reclamante sua Celsitudine diffinite pasciscuntur. In cuius rei testimonium dictus
serenissimus Dux Lotharingæ manum suam apposuit et sigillo muniri curauit.

22 Julij, 1651.

Copia vera: Ita testatur

Locus Sigilli.

Carolus Lorraine.

Fr. Antonius Clonmacnosensis.

Those conditions in Latin I doe not exactly translate into English, though hapily 728.
many men that doe not understande Latine will carpe at my negligence herin, for
whose sake I tell onely the summ as an abridgment unto other matters hereafter
to be treated off, which is as followeth :

First, his Highness is choosen regall protector of the kingdome of Irelande, with 1.
all the power, administration, and authoritie lawefully belonging to such is to him
grannted, to his heires and successors, accordinge the tenor and purporte of the
ensuinge articles.

In as much as religion is the prime objecte of this busines, both parties inter- 2.
channably, and by common consent, doe implore the apostolicall benediction, and
doe vowe and protest before the worlde to be most obsearuant unto his Holinesse
for euer, and continue allwaies moste constante in the Catholicke faithe, and neuer
to swarue from the true rule of holy belife. His Holinesse doe promise to asiste 3.
and helpe his Majestie the Kinge of Britaine, accordinge his power and abilitie,
against his aduersaries, now the Parliament of Englande, and will desire nothinge
of his royall right in the kingdome of Irelande, but religion therin planted, to
the natiues theire birth right restored, and his proper charges undergoen in this
busines payed, will freely relinquishe the same in his Majesties hands.

Duringe his service and the non-payment of his charges, the rule and gouernment 4.
of the kingdome, as well civill as martiall, to be onely in his hands, or in the hands
of some other Catholicke imediately by him appointed.

Provided allwaies that his Highnesse will not introduce any other lawe, statute, 5.
or custome unto the citties or townes in his hands for caution to the hinderance of the
securitie, priuiledges, imunities, properties, goods, lands, and estates, or against the
fundamentall lawes of the kingdome, rather will inviolably obsearue those and theire
benefitt giue to the Catholicke subjects. Onely will hould the authoritie in his hand
to yelde remedie, and redresse abuses hereafter hapninge, for the publicke behoofe.

The ciuill pleadings to be used accordinge the fundamentall lawes of the 6.
kingdome, the forme of policie by his Majesties gouernor, or councill table hereto-
fore used, and not by him any waye reformed.

The election of a Councill shalbe, as heartofore, by an assembly : The callinge 7.
in of such assembly is onely left to his Highnesse disposall.

After, that God Almighty will be pleased to grannte good successe unto religion 8.
affaires, and by the meanes of his Highnesse armies in this kingdome, if it seeme
expedient unto an assemblye or kingdome councill to send succours unto his

1651. Majestic against his enemies in other his kingdomes, his Highnesse will doubtlesse condescende.
9. If by urgent occasions his Highnesse may not come unto the kingdome of Irelande, then is it in the hands of his Highnesse power to institute and nominate some Catholicke not unworthy the place to be governor from himself, immediately without dependencie of any other whom soever, as to his Highnesse will seeme fittinge, whoe in matters of weighty concernment, accordinge the lawes of the kingdome, of state or policie, will joine with the councell or assemblies, as if his Highnesse in person were in place.
10. The citties, castles, and land won from the enemye shalbe restored to their proprietors in Catholicke places, they constantly perseveringe in the obedience of his Highnesse government.
11. It wilbe allsoe lawfull for him to place others in other garrisons, forts, and castles, as he will judge fittinge for the nation behoofe, whoe will take in the meanes of the armie, acruinge as well out of the kingdome, manopolie, and customes (as may reasonably suporte it) as the remaine out of his Highnesse thesaurie (the caution of which moneyes, as aforesaid), as other levies of Catholickes aplotted for such uses hitherunto, or hereafter to be aplotted, the ransome or penalties of condemned persons and enemies, or the pension of such as behaved themselues best for religion and kingdome affaires, as to his Highnesse in justice and equity shalbe thought fitt.
12. A generall assembly beinge adviced touchinge those moneyes, excepte the 20 thousand English pounds already counted for the kingdome use, and what other sums of money, armes, shippes, munition, and other necessaries and ingines for warr his Highnesse will liberally bestowe, which will not exceede their abilitie, or the necessitie of continuinge the warr or recoveringe the kingdome.
13. For the recovery of all such moneyes as belonge to enemies, as annuall casualties, deducted unto a lawfull stipulation, all the whole Irish nation shalbe lyable to the whole payment thereof unto his Highnesse.
14. For the further securitie thereof, the ensuinge citties and townes are to be giuen unto his Highness in caution of payment; viz. Galwaye, Limbricke, Sligoe, Athlone, the castle of Waterforde, and the regall forte of Duncanan; but if his Highnesse will win those from the enemye, then himself, his heires, and successors are to keepe the possession thereof (as aforesaide) till payed of his whole expences.
15. Furthermore, wee notifie unto either partie that the saide townes, forts, and castles, in vertue of this present transaction, will them, or such of them as be in their hands surrender unto his Highnesse, heires or successors, and willingly will yelde obedience unto, all excuses, tergiversations, and pretences to the contrarie notwithstandinge.
16. Whearas collection of the saide moneyes wilbe made, as well the totall summe as the meanes of our armies, by a legittimat stipulation deducted to be payed unto his Highnesse, the taxes, aplottments, and sections or subdivisions of privat men shalbe imposed on their goods and rents, and the same to be giuen by equal proportions, each persons due and noe more, and this not to be altered by either councell or assembly prescription.

The above mentioned deputies or agents, with his Highnesse, will prescribe a peculiar methode, wherby an exacte accomnte of what his Highnesse doe spende for the kingdome avayle maye be truely knowen, and persons of truste apointe for this busines, whom a generall assembly may upon occasion alter. 1651. 17.

Lastly, that neither peace, cessation of armes, or treague may be concluded by either partie, the other reclaiminge or disagreeinge; his Highnesse against the councill or assemblie, or they against his Highnesse. In testimonye wherof, his Highnesse, the saide Duke of Lorraine, did subscribe his hande unto those articles, and caused his seale to be fixed unto, the 22 of July, 1651. 18.

A true copie.

Ita testatur

Fr. Ant. Clonmacnosc.

Place for the seale.

Charolus Lorraine.

CHAPTER VII.

THERE is noe securitie against a reconciled enemie, and one of notorious perfidie, but diffidence and houldinge him out at the swordes pointe, for if they credulitie bringe they within distance of his reache, and that he see they life lye open without good garde, his malice and revenge straight take the advantage and playe their parts, makinge the acte tragicall and the scene bloudie. 729. Horat. Odyssey, b. Seneca. Suas.

Cum inimico nemo in gratiam tuto redit.

Wee made mention, no. 723, that agents were apointed by Costllagh betweene him and the enemie for the surrender of Athlone, and that he and both his uncles were treatinge of the same at Rapadine; all things agreede upon, onely to acte somethinge of newe, wherby to brand himself with the indelible character of treason and perfidie, within two points he endeavoured to acte, to bringe the Linster forces (wherof he was generall by Ormonds apointment) unto Conaght, and then to shutt the floode-gate of Athlone against theire returne with saftie, the other to bringe the heads of some of his best friends upon the stage, which he comenced thus.

The treason-able intention of Costllagh to bringe his freinds and associats upon the stage.

Sir Thomas Armstronge residinge in Dublin since the defeate of the Vlster armie under the conducte of the Bishope of Cloghar, in Tyrconnell, as no. [blank] mentioned, Castellagh writes him a letter by a kindsman of his owne, by name James Tuite, importinge a desire to knowe by him in what posture the kings Majestie was in England, whoe adhered unto him? how stronge he was? with a true relation of the composure and strenght of Sir Charles Cootes armie, now drawinge towards Conaght from Vlster, Tyrconnell-waye; Sir Thomas receaveinge this addresse, as a man of very good intelligence that waye, returnes the ensuinge resulte.

730.

Sir, his Majestie is in a hopfull condition, Sir Charles Coote began his marche towards Tyrconnell, whoe is onely 1500 foote and 500 horse stronge, and might be easily opposed in the straights betweene the counties of Dunegall and Letrim. I desire your Lordship to edge on the Lord-deputie for that service, which in my

731. Sir Thomas Armstronge letter.

1651.

James Tuite
agent for
Costellogh.Costelloghs
endeauours
for Athlone.

cpinion did yeld a shrewde rubb unto the Parliament-affaires in Ireland, for the kings partie doe dayly multiplie in England, and the enemie here distracted, receauinge the leaste foyle, did mightie encourage the one and discourage the other. I will allsoe, by the asistance of Sir Robert Biron, knight, endeauour to give the alarum here abouts, as they goe to the fielde, which wilbe sufficient grounde to diuerte them from you there; fayle not, etc. Signed, Tho. Armstronge.

Tuite returninge with this resulte unto Costllagh, whoe perusinge the same, was very glade, as his smiles did manifeste (but his cankred intentions did otherwise worke), for presentlie did manage all things to the defendinge and strenghtninge the castle and towre of Athlone, did apointe his uncle, Sir James Dillon, and Sir Robert Thalbot, joint gouernors for both towne and castle, did furnishe the forte with a braue magazine of pure corne leuiued in all the countrie, and what was founde of that stufte in the ilands of Loghry was transported thither, soe that neither provision, amunition, or ordinance for a longe siede was wantinge, that all men thought his proceedings to be both reall and loyall; but noe souldier did he admitt into that garrison other then such as suited to his intended designe. Now the other.

732.

The Linster
forces for
Conaght.

By vertue of his authoritie, Generall of Linster (to ensure his game), he sent dispatches unto the standinge forces of Linster to marche in all hast towards Conaght, both horse and foote, to oppose a weake enemie (as he tearmed then Sir Charles Coote), and leaste any did disobeye his comannds, desires Clanricarde, as Deputie, to write unto the seuerall families of lowe Linster that did comande any men, in a more pressinge waye to marche with all expedition, which was exactly don by Clanricarde (as one that was skillfull in the invention of the like lesson). Upon receipte of these respectiue dispatches, the Byrnes and Keuanaghs had a braue partie of both horse and foote. Collonell Daniell oge Keuanagh and Colonell Bryan Mc Phelim had two braue foote regiments, Colonell Sir Walter Dungan a regiment of horse, Thomas Scurloge his Lieutenant-colonell (a reall man at present, but stepinge towards Athlone to knowe what the matter might be, was neuer after the same man, and did not goe to Conaght, as smokinge what they ment), and Charles Kevanagh, Major, to whom, for the most parte, all the horse did belonge. Roger Moore pretended the fiat of a Colonell of foote; Colonell Charles Molloy had a foote regiment; Colonell Lewes Moore a foote regiment, and the name of a regiment of horse; Walter Bagnall and Sir Thomas Esmond, though Colonells, had not the number of men compitinge theire name, whose nomination onely tended to make upp the number of factioniers to beare swaye in the Councell of warr. All these in a goodly bodie did marche towards Conaght. But what of the Linster forces did belonge unto Westmeathe, Costellogh, and Sir James Dillon, were scattered in loose companies, ranged at pleasure in the countrie, undoinge the poore natiues, extortinge and pilladginge whearever they went; all this by the allowance of theire proper comannders, to render them unusfull and disservicable.

Dillon and
Westmeath,
his forces.

733.

The continu-
ance of Lim-
bricke siede.

At this time Limbricke was leagured hearde upon three quarters of a yeare by Deputie Earthon, and none to relieue it in the fielde but Mortagh O'Bryan and David Roche, both dilligent and loyall seruitors, very often actinge theire parte very well to the mightie priedice of the enemie, by whose vigilant care and manly

industrie their number of both horse and foote did dayly hopfully increase, soe that within a shorte time it was thought they would come to very good issue, which conceaued by Clanricard and his faction, did comannde Castlhauen with some fewe horse to Monster, to adhere unto the former partie, as chiefe comannder under the vizarde and name, to relieue Limbricke (but as sure as death to worke rent and division there). Castlhauen thus dispatched, arrivinge thither, shewing his comannes, was well knowne by that partie, and the prime objecte of Clanricarde soe comanndinge would not obeie, wherupon, accordinge instructions worked, diuision and jealousies betweene the two former comannders, Mortagh O'Bryan and David Roche, which, takinge roote, did the like with the troupes, promisinge braue meanes and preferments, and to followe him, and relinquish both the other. By those surmises he won the hearts of allmost all the cauallrye, soe that he was comannder now neere a 1000 horse. In possession of soe many horse, to bringe his designe unto its period, dissembled a flight from his quarter by a false alarum from the enemye (leavinge the two other poore comannders in blanke), cominge straight with his saide horse towards Athlone, plunderinge and pilladginge where euer he went; passinge through Athlone, he marched towards My Lord deputy Clanricarde, to giue an accounte, and gett his further orders, wheare repairinge, obtained his comannes with his horse for the countie of Clare, and to be asistant unto Major-generall Huigh Oneyll, Gouvernor of Limbricke; thither this warrior marched, where findinge that noble and faithfull seruitor recrutinge some men, I meane Mortagh O'Bryan, whoe by the distraction hapninge betweene him and David Roche, occasioned by Castlhauen, as aforesaide, was forced to come to the countie of Clare for recrute and musteringe of men; but Castlhauen thither arrivinge, used all hostile behavior towards the natives, only for adheringe unto the saide Mortagh, hanginge and punishinge all such souldiers that came unto his hands belonginge unto the noblman, soe that none durst apeere unto him for recrute or otherwise, dependinge of Mortagh, but was punished under the name of Torie.

Castlhauen allsoe did contest with Major-generall Neylle in Limbricke, beinge admitted thither with a 100 horse, used all the meanes possible for mutinie, rent, and division in the cittye; but not inkindled for the present to any purpose, for the zeale of Dominick Fanninge, vigilancie and industrie of Huigh Oneylle, applied themselues with seasonable salues to those ruptures, which Castlhauen obsearuinge, apointinge there his temptinge and zelopytinge spirits, deserted the towne and encampinge his troupes on the other side of Limbricke, Tomond waye, which the enemye could not yett leager, and from whence the leagered was sure to receaue provision (the other side beinge stoped by the enemye), whence he suffered noe bitt to goe to the cittye, wherby that side was as prejudicious unto the defendants as that of the enemye; thus did Castlhauen (if hyperboles will saue the turne) most Christianly and faithfully leager Limbricke, breede division, opposed the seruice of Mortagh O'Bryan and David Roche, did plunder and pilladge all the territories from whence all the provision and reliefe, by markett or otherwise, came to the cittie was stopped;—loe the disservice of Castlhauen and all conducinge to the enemye behoofe.

The Deputie Clanricarde himself was not idle at this time (as the font from

1651.

Mortagh
O'Bryan and
David Roche.
Castlhauen
with comission
to Monster,
and why?

His treachery
there acted.

His hostile
behaviour in
Tomond.

734.

His contest-
ation with
Huigh Oneylle
and Dominicks
Fanninge.

He brought
Limbricke
to a sadd
condition.

1651.

Clanricard
did disbande
3 regiments
in Conaght,
Richard
Bourke, Randle
Mc Daniell
and Donogh
O'Connor,
and why?

whence those springs worked all the meanes to weaken the service and enable the enemy; any whom he thought loyall to either kinge or nation (if in comannde) did disbande, three Conaght regiments, the most loyall in all that province, he disbanded, Colonell Richarde Bourke, Colonell Randle Mc Daniell, and Colonell Donogh O'Connor, onely because loyall to both religion and countrie. A man would thinke this to be too strange a policie and too publicke a treason to leaue the province of Linster naked to the enemy, one of two citties that stode out for his Majestie to cutt shorte of provision, to disbande and disable its best relivers, the enemy at its doore, to nourish mutinie and division amonge both souldier and cittizen, to disable the natiue colonells and gentrie to defende their owne birth right, wives, children, proper liues and fortunes and to intertaine fewe, weake, factious, and disloyall strangers to defende aliene, lett any man of indifferent doome judge whether this was to prevent distruction (as a chiefe governor, and one soe intrusted, should doe) or cause it?

736.

Costillaghs
treachery now
discovered.

Makes his
conditions with
Sir Charles
Cootes.
Authors of
Dillons intelli-
gence in
restraint in
Dublin.

Costellagh now havinge brought all his intended treasons to this wished issue, enformed of Sir Charles Cootes marche at the confines of Roscomon and Sligo counties, addressinge himself thither, apeeringe, makinge his apologie of privat conference with the enemy comannder, declared unto him all the former intelligence and intentions contained in Sir Thomas Armstronges letter (as above no. 731 mentioned), and makinge his conditions for Athlone (whether all this by the aprobatation of Clanricarde I cannott truely attest, other then aposteriori, which in that sense I dare affirme); this soe treacherously acted, Sir Charles presently did dispatch this intimation unto the Gouvernor of Dublin, whoe fourthwith comannded a searche to be made in all the cittie for the bodies of Sir Thomas Armstronge, Sir Robert Byron, and James Tuitte. Sir Thomas was not founde, Sir Robert was apprehended, and James, hapninge to be in the countie of Westmeath, was taken and remitted to Dublin in the nature of a prisoner, but upon his examination (as, well backed) was dismissed. Sir Robert, induringe some seeminge indurance, was enlarged; what treachery more notorious then to betraye his kindsmen, and those that were his proper sticklers in Ormonds faction? to expose their necks to the axe! onely to indeere himself unto an enemy in an unlawfull waye, against oath and couenant? what perfidie more palpable? what malice and yrefull reuenge more publicke to kinge, countrie, and religion then to hazarde the liues of his dearest friendes, nay, of his owne flesh and bloude, leaste to be capable of actinge any service in the behalfe of his solemne oath for his leige, religion, and nation, to bringe all the well affected of Linster into a nuke or laborinthe, rendringe Athlone, the anchor of their saftie, to be the Caribdez of their overthrowe, is not this to make the acte tragicall and the scene bloudie? and motiug sufficient to brande him with that indelible character of infamie? noe securitie with such one other then diffidence, qui sibi nequam cui bonus. If his malice be such towards his owne associats and factioniers, what will others (against whom he is euer bent) expecte at his hands? Si in viridi fronde hæc fiant, quid erit in sicco?

The perfidie of
this man.

CHAPTER VIII.

1651.

EMULATION of vertue in greate men is honorable, but of greatnesse dangerous ; for many times it breaketh the necke of one or both the rivalls : but it neuer faileth of hindringe theire faithfull service to theire prince and the state.

737.
Plut. in Thes.
Lucan l. 1^o.
Sil. l. 17.

O dirum exitium mortalibus, O nihil unquam
Crescere, nec magnas patiens exurgere laudes
Invidia.

Greate emulation haue been nourished between Costellagh and the Earle of Westmeathe, he unworthly challenginge the gouernment of that countie in disrespekte of this mans predcessors, whoe claimed right therunto, which neuer any of his familie could doe ; this emulation was not of vertue, but of greatnesse, not of gouernment and right styringe of the comonwealths shippe, but of tyranizinge, wherby was marred all loyaltie to regalitie, true and faithfull service to theire nation (if to either inclined). Though this noblman (by creation) was assured of the earles refraction, and that he and the rest of the faction were at least Presbyterians, and on the verie last disposition to leppe from that pott into the fryinge pann of Independents, yett, to be still preferred before him, he will first in publicke viewe shake hands with disloyaltie, and become a knowen traytor to both God, kinge, and nation, surrendringe the impregnable forte of Athlone to Sir Charles Coote without a blowe, plentifull enough of both provision and amunition, himself residinge in the saide enemie campe, did write his comanndes unto his uncle, Sir James Dillon, and to Sir Robert Thalbot, gouernors apointed by him of both towne and castle, and prime practitioner of disloyaltie, to yeld upp both upon sight to Sir Charles Cootes use, all conditions, circumstances, exceptions, and tergiversations to the contrarie notwithstandinge (and though those same men were apointed agents by him to Deputie Earthon, as above mentioned), for the surrender of Athlone, and he, pursuant therunto, did now marche thither with his armie, under the leadinge of Sir Theophilus Jones, they upon sight of the former comande of Costllagh did yelde the castle, with all the ordinance and other warrlik engines, to Sir Charles his attorneye.

The emulation
of Costllagh
and West-
meathe.

The factionists
Presbyterians.

Costllagh did
comande the
surrender of
Athlone.

whose perfidie
is herby
discouered.

By this surrender all the humane hopes of the Irish is now at a stande, for all the enemie in Ireland maye now come together without controule into the province of Conaght. The parliament forces in Linster marched in a bodie to Athlone to joine with Sir Charles Coote. Before this treacherous yeldinge, the Shanon, from sea to sea invironinge the province of Conaght, was well guarded and deffended by the Irish, that noe enemie could pipe over it. Sir Charles and Earthons distracted parties were in mightie danger to be seuerally circumvented, but now the very best passadge free, are reliued, and by the example of this treacherous acte all other passadges of concearnment upon the Shanon, or otherwise, were yelded. Terence Coghlane did surrender Raghra, a passadge of good esteeme ; Sir Luke Dillon, Rathpadin, upon Loghry ; Anthony Brabson, Bellanasloe ; ould Captain Leicester, Millicke, and such others, soe that the saide Shanon, the Irish bulwarke and loyall spouse of the nation, was now become a prostitute, rendringe free

738.
How prejudic-
ious the sur-
render of
Athlone to the
loyall Irish.

Terence Cogh-
lane, Anthony
Brabson, Luk
Dillon,
Thomas
Leicester.

1651.

passadge unto all comers, and denied any favor unto its former possessors; such as were its jaylours hertofore were become now its prisoners, and such as durst not salute it afarr off were now its porters; by this diluge both Linster and Vlster forces that adhered unto the Deputie Clanricarde are brought now into a sadd condition, and all this distemper by the treacherous surrender of Athlone.

739.

Daniell
Keuanagh.
Charles
Keuanagh.

Lewes Moore.

You shall observe, reader, that Colonell Lewes Moore of the Linster forces now in Conaght, whose nice was married unto Colonell Daniell oge Keuanagh, spoke to this man of some jealousies he conceaued against Major Charles Keuanagh, brother unto the saide Daniell (on whom depended the most parte of the Linster horse), as no. 732 touched, as not adheringe unto him, apointed colonell by the gouernment, which if he had don, did enable both into the service in an honorable waye. The complained thought this Moore to be made of some aproued mettle, and havinge by aproued testimonies founde out Dungans refraction and perfidie hertofore (to whom his saide brother Charles did at present adhere), allowed his motion, movinge the same to his brother Charles, both aplyinge themselues for resulte unto Lewes Moore. The Major tellinge him he would putt him nexte mustar daye in the heade of a selecte regiment of horse, that he was not tyed to any colonell other then whom he pleased, and desired him to be of courage; this agreede upon, the daye of mustar aproachinge, Major Charles, musteringe his regiment, and havinge all in a bodie, did call for Colonell Moore, biddinge him to leade that horse as proper colonell, which he did and left, Dungan stikinge onely to one or two troupes; this continued without controle for 9 or 10 daies, Dungan all the while in his dumbs, knowinge not what best to doe. Moore, seeinge him one morninge wulkinge solitarie and pensiuie, addressinge himself towards him, reciprocally salutations finished, tould him he was verie sorie to be a meane of any such mylan-choly passion in him, and if any such did proceede from him, as in trenchinge on his right in relation into the regiment, was at present content to quitt his claime therin (notwithstandinge the intrest and donation of Keuanagh), rather then forgoe so good a friende, and desired Dungan to intercesse in his behalf unto My Lord Deputy to haue a foote regiment in the standinge armie, and, in promisinge his asistance herin, did fourthwith disclaime in any right he might challenge in the saide regiment of horse. This couenant concluded betweene doubl-dealinge-Moore and temporizer-Dungan, wherby both discredited himself, and made Charles his abetter to be euer after hated of Dungan, whose noe sooner herof certified, then made himself readie and returned to Linster with three score and ten choice horse, leavinge the rest to Dungan—loe the silly deportment of this Moore lost both horse and foote regiment by the bargaine.

Lewes, his
inconstancie,
foolerie, and
treachery.

Walter
Dungan.

740.

Robert Nugent
and James
Keylin.

Alexander
Hoppe betrayed
it.

About this time Captain Robert Nugent of Westmeathes regiment, with his company of Tories, and Captain James Kellinge, allsoe dependinge on Westmeathe, impouerishinge the relicte inhabitants of Westmeath and Longforde counties, to amende somethinge, what was irregulaty don, waited on a garrison that of late was placed in an Iland of Loughkinill, called the Iland of Deserte (which belonged to this Nugents father), and betrayed unto the enemie by Alexander Hoppe and others therin residinge; those captains played their parte soe well that (notwithstandinge the enemie had all the cotts in his possession) they intred the saide

island, killed some of the garrison, tooke all unto mercie, and hanged one Nicholas Nugent, a greate promoter and a ranke Protestante and spie for the enemie. The place was mightie plentifull and riche; the captain in person acquaintinge the Earle of Westmeathe, his colonell therewith, as of high concearnment for the publicke, desired relife to make it good against the comon enemie, which mightie conduced to bridle distraction in the enemie about them parts. Notwithstandinge all reasonable motiues, noe relife was sent; nay, the captain upon his returne did extempore capitulat with the enemie for surrender (which he durst not doe, other then by higher power preaduced). The conclusion had beene that Captain Nugent gott in his quarter, all the bagg and baggage of that island, ransome or exchanne for eache his prisoners, two monethes meanes upon the distressed natiues to be aploited and raised by the enemie authority, and the same iland to be demolished, this is all the seruice that Westmeathes parties haue don unto the bleedinge countrie, but starued thousands of poore orphans and widowes to death, and thus thrived. If any thinge ambiguous of our discoueryes, you may seriously, and without affectation, peruse the ensuinge letters penned by a prime practitioner of faction, intercepted by a person worthy all credit, whose sense is as followeth.

1651.

Nicholas
Nugent
hanged.The iland
surrendred
into the enemie
by West-
meathes sur-
mish to the
disservice of
the natiues.

CHAPTER IX.

MAY it please your Excellencie,

Your assignment and letters of favour in my behalfe delivered, notwithstanding which, and my greate expence of time and meanes, in pursuance therof, I am hitherto putt of, though many of lesse neede satisfied with, my present urgent necessitie admittinge noe delaies, compells me to enforme your Excellencie with this oportunitie, humbly prayinge your seconde more pressinge direction in that behalfe, if your owne cominge be retarded, your Excellencies speedie arrivall here is wished beyonde all measure by all your freinds, your delaye beinge of such dangerous consequence, contained in the inclosed. Be pleased, good lord, to answeare their expectation, and the present fauourable unlastinge oportunitie, whereon depends the prosperitie or ruyne of all your freinds, and the preservation of all your house and familie. Pardon me for this over passionat expression, forced by my zeale and affection to your saftie and welfare. It is not onely mine, but the sense and expression of all your freinds in generall, wherof your Excellencie will be soone assured, if their letters in that behalfe comes safe unto your Excellencies hands, which I hope cominge to your hands will not onely call you home with expedition, but alsoe remove all obstacles, worke in you that honorable resolution of Henry de Burbon, in choosinge to heare one masse rather then to hazarde his kingdome, wherwith I conclude. I humbly take leave, and remaine,

741.

Patrickke
Bryans letter
to Ormonde.

Your most humble servant,

P. B.

Subscribed—To Ormond.

Noble Cossen,

Findinge this oportunitie, I thought fitt to craue your fauorable inter- 742.

1651.

cession to his Excellencie in my behalfe, touchinge the moneyes I lended his Excellencie, whose assignment to me in that behalfe on the Deputy and Sir George tooke hitherto noe effecte, though by me pursued with much expence of time, labour, and moneyes. I neede not relate the sadd condition I am brought too; you cannott be ignorant therof; onely this that it wilbe impossible for me to suporte my charge without speedie relife herin, wherof in despaire, without his Excellencies further directions, or his owne presence here, which is expected not onely by me but by all his freinds; whoe are, God be thanked, multiplyed to twenty now for one at his partinge; and the chieftest heade peeces of all his best wishers, doe giue him and themselues with all their adherents for lost, if he doe not answere the present oportunitie, while the ciuill and martiall gouernment be in the hands of his freinds, which they are assured to loose if the Duke of Lorraine be landed here before him, soe that in most mens opinion, howeuer affected, who-soeuer of them two comes first shall comannde all. And this is not all that is to be feared; but that if Lorraine come first, My Lords best freinds, that run all hazarde to searve him, wilbe destroyed, or at leaste brought to that sadd posture, that they will not be able to searve him further to any purpose; neither can they, with all the power they haue, prevent this at the present, by reason of the obstinacie of Limbricke and Galwaye to the gouernment, helde up by the worst sorte of people in both places, whoe might be soone dannted by his Excellencie in person, especially beinge backt with the power of the kingdome now in the hands of his freinds; and withall hauinge the powerfulllest members within both the townes to his freinds. And yett some of My Lords freinds are afraide of some opposition or rubb without he comes a Catholicke; and are of opinion that if he comes ouer a Catholicke, and continue soe but for one yeare, he would bringe his designe to passe, and settle all his freinds in despite of the Pope, Lorraine, and all their partakers, provided he be heare before Lorraine. Muskrie is powerfull in the counties of Corke and Kyerie, and broke the designe of the Clergie there, in their two actiue instruments, David Roche and Mortagh O'Bryan; they are both come to Limbricke, frustrated of all their ends. Castlhauen is noe lesse powerfull in Tomond, soe that neither they two, nor any other disaffected to the gouernment, can beare up heade there, and he is like ere longe, with the helpe of the honest Bishope of Limbricke, to beare all the swaye within Limbricke, and in time be able to crubb Dominicke Fanninge and his faction there, and pull downe the arrogancie of the present Mayor. He alreadie bore downe the swaye of Huigh Oneylle, whose attempted the bouldnesse to send him orders by his aiudant, whom he threatned to hange for attemptinge that bouldnesse, tellinge him with an undannted spirit that he would make his master as obedient unto him as the meanest corporall in his armie, and that within two monthes Monster should not hould but one of them two, which is now like to be accomplished, Huigh Oneylle beinge alreadie comannded to the fiede to comannde the armie for the present expedition for Vlster, whence I hope he shall never returne to that neaste. His Lordship is likewise by degrees crubbinge the faction of Lorraine in his armie. He presumed the courage to tell his officers in the heade of his armie, that they should not sell their loyaltie for a little moneye of a foraigner, and none durst answere him to the

contrary. To preuent any rapture in the gouernment, he brought all the Tories 1651.
 under comannde, the Lord of Limbricke beinge noe small helpe to him therin.
 Clanricarde did the like in Conaght, and comannedes the armies of the other three
 provinces. He disbanded the three activest members for the clergie in Conaght,
 Colonell Donogh O'Connor, Colonell Randle Mc Daniell, and Colonell Richarde
 Bourke. Sir Walter Dungan, Sir Thomas Esmond, My Lord Costllagh, Sir
 Roberte Thalbot, and Bagnall are the powerfulest men in Linster. Barnewall
 comannedes My Lord of Westmeathes horse, none to be feared in Linster but
 Bryan Mc Phelims partie; but they are out of their neaste of Glanmalury,
 comanneded to Athlone, whence I hope they shall never returne, or be able to doe
 litle abroade. The Vlster armie are broken in themselves, and deuided without
 any heade. Drumore is the comanndinge prelat amonge them, a seconde Cloghar,
 in spite of the surmishes of Ardmagh and Kilmore. And allsoe in Linster, not-
 withstandinge the privat workinge of Dublin, Clonmacnose and Laghlin, Tua-
 mensis, his brothers, with Killalla and Kilfinora styres the Churche affaires in
 Conaght, notwithstandinge the privat workinge of Clonferte, and Doctor Kelly
 Oliuerus is bounde for Rome, like to be Bishope of Elfin. I have a greate deale
 more to enforme his Excellencie, but that I know that all the passadges heare are
 certified to his Excellencie by severall hands, that can giue a straighter accounte
 therof, and with more authoritie then I. Yett through my zeale to his Excel-
 lencies wellfare, I presume this bouldnesse, for which I humbly begg pardon, and
 remaine

Hitherto the
 letter.

Subscribed,

Your humble servant,

Signed, P. Bryan.

To his Excellencies Chamberlaine, Edward Butler, Etc.

CHAPTER X.

A LARGE kingdome is a greate morsell, yett not enough to suffice the hungrie 743.
 mawes of two that are ambitious: eache will win the horse or loose the saddle, haue Am. Plat.
 all or loose all, for love and lordshipe brooke noe fellowshipe. It is therfore Tacit. l. 1.
 greate imprudence in him that admitts of an equall, where himself maye be sole Ovid.
 comannder, or at leaste chiefe umpire.

Non bene cum socijs Regna Venusque manent.

The intelligence of this prime practitioner of faction, Patricke Bryan, or more
 truly Byrne, is admirable, I belieue, if you be not altogether incredulous, you will
 giue credence unto all wee haue hithervnto spoken in the behalfe of this present dis-
 couery, for in these letters you see an ample testimonie therof to the worlds viewe,
 confirminge in effecte what is alreadie suggested, wherein he sheweth more malice
 by this his information then scarce a cankered hearte can harbour or vent, nor any
 penn how virulent soeuer prescribe, ex abundancia cordis os loquitur. It seemes his
 obiecte is for a large kingdome, sure a greate morsell, advicinge his master to

Auicenas ther.
 upon.

1651. followe the example of the Frenche kinge, Henry de Burbon, whoe was like to loose his title to his kingdome, as not beinge conformable in religion to his subjects; whoe obsearvinge and weaing the danger of soe fatall a fortune, is reported to haue saide, that he would not forgoe the kingdome of France for hearinge one ould masse, if the present will haue this precident, currere quatuor pedibus, he insinuat hereby the title of Ormond to the scepter of Irelande; nothinge to the assecution therof, other then his conformitie to Catholicke religion, oppugnant, settinge fourth the feasibilitie therof by the examplare Burbon, to be a Catholicke but for one yeare, and would bringe his designe to its wished end, which designe is noe other thinge then the temporall signorie of this distracted kingdome, all which is pursuant to our intimation of Ormonds deportment, no. 480.
744. It is well known that Ormond was sworne to the nation at the capitulation of peace, to acte naught then pursuant to the oathe of association, all the Confederate Catholicks were obliged by the same oathe to obeye his Holinesse, his dellegats and nationall congregation; but both Pope, assembly, and clergie congregation did electe and nominat the Duke of Lorraine regall protector of this kingdome. That the author of the former letter should dispense in soe solemne and publicke oathe, with a seeminge Catholicke for one yeare, for the settle of his freinds in spite of Pope, Lorraine, and their adherents, is verie strange (an evident demonstration of both lord and seruant's refraction) obedience to his Holinesse, obseruation of couenant to his Highnesse, fidelitie and loyaltie to Kinge and assemblye, and due respecte to all lawfull clergie congregation, are boughes and branches of the saide association, or rather the intrinsicall constitutivum therof, which to disanull is more then ordinarie power. To edge him on, he tells of the encrease of his friends, 20 for one since he parted the kingdome; obsearue the improvment of faction in soe shorte a time. All his freinds (though thus multiplied) cannot preuent proper future distruction, as longe as the Catholicks doe possess Limbricke and Galwaye for his Majestie, those onely beinge all that is loyall and obedient in the whole kingdome; a strange passadge. The Lord-leutenant Ormond, Deputie Clanricarde, and their faction, can assure themselves of noe saftie while those townes and their gouernors continue loyall, such as are pursuant to their oathe of confederacie (in the opinion of this author) are the scum and froathe of all people, onely because loyall. A man might suppose the contrarie of this assertion to be true, viz., that the Lord-leutenant Deputie and their adherents should assure themselves of present fate, if Limbricke and Galwaye did treacherously yelde, as the rest of citties and townes of the whole kingdome haue don, they beinge publick ministers of state for his Majestie intrusted for the defence of his royall intreste, and havinge none to make good but those two townes. The intimation of this author is strange, that Ormonds friends can assure themselves of noe saftie while those townes hould out against the comonemie.
- The encrease of faction.
- A strange passadge.
- Obiection.
745. The warrlicke behaviour, manly opposition, and faithfull demeanour of Huigh Oneylle, Morthagh O'Bryan's loyaltie. Oneylle, gouernor of Limbricke, in the defence therof against a stronge enimie, is tearmed by this author obstinacie to the gouernment. Major Huigh Oneylle was appointed by Ormond himself Major-generall of the whole kingdome, and confirmed

gouvernor of Limbricke, though against his stamocke, yett, to please the man and the best sorte of people there, was contented to preferr him unto that honorable encumbencie, notwithstandinge his courage in opposinge the comonemie, his loyaltie to serue his Majestie, his reputed Lord-leutenant, his fidelitie to his countrie, his zeale to his holy religion, and constant cariage pursuant to his principles, is tearmed obstinacie, because he will not surrender his place unto Castlhauen, pigmeyan Goliath of Clanricarde, euer yett charactered with the abominable staine of disloyaltie, patricide, and faction (as you maye obsearue, n^o. 132, 175, and 192, and others). If all were wantinge, I doe conceaue the calefication of his censeritie by the author of the present intelligence, and his proper deportment in bridinge mutinie, raisinge faction, dismembringe union and association, is sufficient motiue to brand him with that neuer staininge epythome of contereite Catholicke, disloyall subjecte inhumaine broode, and periured-factionous companion. This man and Muskrye are powerfull and prosperous in Monster (as this author sayeth), not against any knowen or sworne enemye to either kinge, countrie, or religion, rather against theire proper Confederats, in disrespects of both oathe, couenant, and clergie, opposinge, viribus et posse, the two faithfull and ever loyall member of Catholicke Confederacie in them parts, Mortagh O'Bryan, and Dauid Roche, whom the author, the two actiue instruments (for the clergie doe tearme), to be obstinat unto the gouernment. I am of opinion that the author doe meane the parliament gouernment—for the aforesaide peeres (as you might with indifferencie conceaue by this letter) doe acte all things sutable to the same, out of which premisses you may philosophically deducte an undeniable consequence, that neither those, the author, nor whom he writes is other then antagonists of both kinge, nation, and religion, and such as he tearmes obstinat, to be both true, loyall, and faithfull.

1651

Castlhauens
disloyaltie and
actions dis-
ciphared.

Muskrye how
powerfull.

Dauid Roche
and Mortagh
O'Bryans
loyaltie.

Which may be confirmed by the author himself, in his letter, for all that was charactered with the staine of treasone and faction in either towne or countrie, since those comotions, are here by him placed in the predicament of loyaltie and best ranke of men; and such as were never yett taxed with any the leaste crime, rather most obsearuant of oathe and alleageance, are placed in that of diffidie and swaruinge from the gouernment, as Huigh Oneylle, Bryan Mc Phelim, Mortagh O'Bryan, Dauid Roche, Dominicke Fanninge, etc.; and those whose actions did euer tende to perfidie and distruction, are named reall and faithfull friends of Ormonde, as Drumore, Limbricke, Bagnall, Esmond, Thalbot, Barnewall, etc. What then will any man of indifferent doome judge of the author and his saide adherents, other then presbyterians, factionists, and disloyall, his advice for reconcilment to religion, his end for that purpose, (the settle of his friends), the small and peremptorie continuance therin, his wishes and execrations against the well affecteds returne to places of saftie, the displayinge of faction and disunion in the saide townes and respectiue prouinces in both clergie and laytie, doe clearly discouer the contagious maladie whearwith he and his master and faction are obnoxious, and doe evidently confirme and aproue what hitherto we haue, without respects of persons intimated unto the world, in this our present discouery; what other things he speaketh of Drumore and other prelates, that he is a seconde Cloghar in Vlster,

746.

Ormond and
his faction con-
firmed traytors
by the author.

A poore
Catholicks
aduice.

Faction yett
discouered.

1651. and those styringe the churche affaires in Conaght, you shall be ascertained off in duc place. As for his jealousies against the cominge of the Duke of Lorraine, it is accordinge his principles they doe oppose this solemne acte, though imediatly grounded upon theire proper authoritie, as hereafter more at large. Now lett us returne to Clanricarde and his Linster forces in Conaght.

CHAPTER XI.

747. THE contemplatiue parte of musicke consisteth chiefly in a true disposition of proportions, and the actiue is in a symphonie and right settinge of the instruments one to another, and the voice to both. In economie men must cutt theire coate to their cloathe: and in morallitie, quid, quantum, quibus, quando, and quomodo, are necessarie attributes to every vertue; soe likewise in policie, a prudent prince standinge upon the defensive parte, is to measure and proportion his resistance accordinge to the strenght or weaknesse of the assayer, and that in due time, by frustratinge (as much as in him lyeth) the mynes made to blowe him up, by his owne countermines of prevention and diuersion.

Eurip. Ducis in consilio posita est virtus militaris—periculosa res dux inconsultus.

How farr did the Deputie Clanricarde swarue from this polliticall rule? He had notice longe agoe that Sir Charles Coote was marchinge towards Conaght, with small forces in respecte of the multitude he might have (if soe pleased) for that service, but disabled himself any waie to encounter the enemie; for all the Conaght forces (euer yett at his becke) vanished awaye, keepinge theire keraghts in places of saftie, to some Linster and Vlster onelye forces stickinge, to waite on his Excellencie in the feilde, whoe never offered to hinder Cootes proceedings when weake; and which advantage, till now growinge still stronger by the accesse of Conaght men, whoe dayly drooped unto him (and as may be truely alleadged not without the assent of Clanricarde), whoe now (adishoras) comanded his armie to marche towards Ballimote or Motanaheny upon a straight there, to oppose the enemie progresse towards the countie of Mayo (which was the leaste of his thoughts) as the Deputie might very well know, by the posure of his armie, surrender of Athlone, and other pregnant inducements (both knowen and certified unto Clanricarde) notwithstandinge his armie thither with a double marche arrivinge, without either breathe, provision, or meanes; wearie and discouraged, satte there in vaine that night with a cleane stamocke. Noe sooner the enemie obsearued his aduantage, the passadge wherunto his aime was free, noe rubb or hinderance to be feared (noted by the behaviour of his very good freinde, cossen, and benefactor, Clanricarde) then marched safe and leasurly towards the countie of Galwaye; and though our Deputie-generall did well obsearue the enemie motion, did continue where he was at present for 24 howers more, in the same condition of extenuitie as formerly, herby rendringe full raynes unto him to be out of all danger, and exposinge his proper ones for slaughter, next morninge comanded

Clanricardes
stratageme
tendinge to
the enemie
avayle.

O poore armie
and silly soul-
diers, beguiled
thus by your
enemie.

his starulinge armie to marche through woodes, boggs, and mountaines in contestation of the enemie, goinge the high, plaine, and beaten waye, with the advantage of 24 howers before, all which, notwithstanding the celeritie and pressinge comannde of the Irish was such (though fastinge all the while) that they arriued to Loghreagh, which was the prime objecte of their expedition, to defende this onelye for his Excellencie, comittinge all the rest of the countrie to the merciless doome of a weaker enemie, whoe (though noe comoditie wanted, all the countrie at his devotion) was wearie and tyred, as not accustomed to soe longe, tedious, and dayly marches. This much was discovered by Lieutenant-generall Fferall, and the rest of the well affected comannders, seeinge him marchinge towards them to Loghreagh in a weake and discountenannced arraye, in a most advantagious straight, all the Irish, both horse and foote, after their longe and toylsome journeyes refreshed and most willinge fight with this champion (before he did joine with Earthon), with all other circumstances conducinge to their encouragement, cryed out unto the Deputy that his Excellencie might be pleased to permitt them giue the enemie the onsett, promisinge under Gods asistance to thriue, to the enemie prejudice; but Clanricarde would by noe meanes condescende to this motion; Colonell Daniell Oge Keuanaghe, and other sturdie gallants, seeinge their oportunitie, not soe much expostulatinge with Clanricarde, or rather assured of his assent, opposed the enemie with gallantrie and courage, and if seconded, did putt the enemie to route, and though Clanricarde was earnestly solicited by Lieutenant-generall Ferrall and others to give waye unto the bodie of the armie to advance towards the enemie, to know therby his motion, or at leaste to bringe off the said partie engaged with honor, and if all fayle (saide those comannders) the towne is our owne, wee doe not feare a siedege. All will not searue, neither will the deputie send as much as a poore researue to bringe off the already engaged, till their freinds and their proper dexteritie did, with courage and enemie losse, retire with saftie and honor. Sure this did not proceede of any tender care of Clanricarde towards the saftie of his armie, but that to thriue did not soe well suite with his designe of destroyinge the Linster and Vlster forces. The Irish thus comannded to stande mute, the enemie did passe alonge in their sight, in the posture aforesaide, till he came directly to Portumny, Clanricards chiefe house, and though strongly mand, was fourthwith yelded. Such a man (though never yett noted of either treason or faction) that will not be aduiced by either his master in the arte, or a councill of warr, is very dangerous, and specially in such a publicke acte, subiecte to all misconstruction, for—

1651.

The Irish not permitted by Clanricarde to fight with the enemie.

748.

Daniell Keuanaghs courage.

Clanricards intention.

Portumny yelded.

CHAPTER XII.

GREATER affaires require many heades to advice, and many hands to effecte. One braine is not capable of soe greates a charge; one arme insufficient for soe insupportable a burthen. A prince therefore ought not to stande soe stiffe in his owne opinion, though prouided upon probable supposition, as not to yelde to his faithfull counsailours, upon more forcible and demonstratiue reasons. For, he that refuseth all counsaile is worste then a beaste: he that needeth none is more then a man.

749.

Tacit. Hist. 1.

1.

Velle. 1. 12.

Comic. Græc.

Plut.

Bodin. 1. 3.

1651.
Virg. En. 12.

Palladem Jovi decubenti assidere,
Consulere, atque omnes metuentem expendere casus.

What Clanricarde is.

If the present peere-comannder were any thing versant in the lecture of these martiall and politicall authors, he would not stande soe stiffe to his proper sense, though grounded upon probable supposition (as was not, but self-conceite), rather cede and giue waye to the wise doome of faithfull counsellours, both practiced and interested in the busines, settinge fourth in the behalfe of their results forcible and demonstratiue reasons, whose refusinge is censured, by the vote of our Aphorisme, to be worste then a beaste, but heark now of him.

750.

Castlhauens
treachery.

Resident in Loughreagh aforesaide, receaued intelligence that My Lord Earthon did marche from the sledge of Limbricke towards Conaght, to relieue, joine, and conferr with Sir Charles Coothe, whom he conceaued to stande in neede therof; wherupon Clanricarde did send orders unto Castlhauen, resident then in Tomond, (as no. 734 touched), to marche with all expedition with a 1000 horse and soe many foote (which was the relation of his armie) towards the foorde of Killaloe, and make the same good against Earthon: whose straight obeyed, arriuinge unto the saide place with that sett number, and that beinge the onely passadge for Earthons armie to passe the Shanon, he began to make works there for his further saftie (though very well able brest to brest to defende with soe many soe narrowe a passadge), but noe sooner espied the enimie scouts afarr off drawinge towards the foorde, to be enformed of its security, then hoysed saile, and comanded both horse and foote to quitt the place, and saue themselues; wherupon both comannder and other with mightie disorder and speede ran awaye, he leadinge for flight that should doe it for stande, and neuer sent worde of this catostrophe unto his suposed freinds, the Irish armie, who rather thought themselues secure that waye, as seuerally attested by Clanricarde, till seeinge the treacherous comannder with such his partie as could beare out that celeritie in aroutinge maner, nemine persequente, aproachinge towards, by whose demeanour did judge the enimie to be at their heeles, wherby afrighted, the deputie upon sight comanded the armie to marche towards Galwaye for their securitie. The passadge, thus left free to Earthon, passed and marched to Portdumny to conferr with Coothe, where continued together for some fewe nights, to dispose of the proceedings in Conaght and Limbricke affaires, which agreeed upon Earthon did returne to Limbricke on Tomonds side, where formerly Castlhauen had bene incamped (no. 734), and wheare Earthon could not come thitherunto, the Shanon beinge in midst betweene his campe and this place, now leagers and blocks up Limbricke on either side, though cost him too deere, by the effusion of much Brittish bloude. Lett any man, freinde or foe, be judge, that reades this with an indifferent eye, ingeniously tell whether Clanricarde, actinge those things, be a politician or a good warrior? standinge upon the defensive parte, did neuer measure his strenght or resistance to the assayer, nor euer offered to prevent or diuerte his motion till past recouery; rather disbanded such as were loyall and true seruitors to the cause (as alias mentioned), and not permittinge those fewe, that foolishly followed and obeyed him, to encounter the enimie upon the greatest advantage that could be offered, and now brings them unto a nuke, wheare ere longe will starue. Is this to styre a Catholicke kingdome?

The Irish went
to Galwaye.
Earthon and
Coothe together.

Limbricke
blocked.

Lett any man
iudge Clanri-
carde.

Is this to be a loyal subiecte to his Majestie ? Is this to be a good Catholicke ? Is this the faith of a Confederat ? the honor of a peere, the amitie of a patriott, and the fidelitie of a Generall gouvernor of a Catholicke nation ? Noe—— 1651.

The Irish armie, with their Generall, arriuinge to Galwaye, the faction rife there, the eldest folke was for it, and the yonger sorte did embrace the true and Catholick principles of the late Lord Nuncio, to shewe some seemingé indifferencie in this busines, and please the well affected of the militia in a pointe of soe neere concearnment unto their saftie, it was thought by the deputie and his privye councill to cause the townes-men (notwithstandinge there was an actuall mayor) to nominat and electe a gouvernor to rule the affaires of the militia in towne, and the same to be a souldier, leaste either the foresaide partye might be troublesome unto other. This soe moued, havinge their privat instructions from the deputie, to choose none but such as hitherto was knowne member of blind-faction, pursuant therunto they gather to the Tolser. Chiefe in that passiué election was the late Generall of Linster, Thomas Preston, thither come after givinge up unto the comonemie the city of Waterforde, Bryan Roe Oneylle, Arthure Fox, there apointed agent from the clergie of Ardmagh Province to the Duke of Lorine, and Major Guire (since his araignment in at Athlone, after the yeldinge of Ticrohan) there master of the works; some variance appeered, but at length Clanricards sense knowne unto the ould craftie folke, suborned what voices was wantinge to sute their intentions and the peeres pleasure, did thus choose Thomas Preston aforesaide, that lost both field and forte, wherof was comannder yett in Irelande, and as a gratuitie of his censeritie therin, Ormond at his last farewell unto Franncé, baptized him under the name and honorable title of Viscount Taragh, which is a badge of true service unto all that is periured and treacherous. This election was both pleasinge and gratfull unto Clanricarde and his faction, as the maine now of their pretences. Arthure Fox was apointed colonell of the yongmen of the towne, with a flourishing regiment of 1500 men, verie well apointed, whose married a widowe rich enough, and December followinge died, euer a constant man. Bryan Roe Oneylle was contented with his owne regiment in towne to liue, but Major Guire was left in albis, onely because loyall.

A consultation
for gouvernor of
Galwaye.

Preston, Bryan
Roe, Arthure
Fox, and
Guire, but the
first is elected.

And is stiled
by Ormond
Viscount
Taragh.

Galwaye thus in saftie, at leaste soe simulated, Westmeathe by the advice of Clanricarde did man Tirolon, one of the Deputies houses neere Galwaye; but the enemye in a small bodie marchinge thither, the garrison souldiers obsearuinge him afarr off leauinge both house, munition, provision, and armes there, ran to Galwaye in a bouthe; which Bryan Roe Oneylle obsearuinge, expostulated with Westmeath, (as conceauinge his Lordship to be comannder of that partie) about soe base an acte and soe palpable a treason, whoe onelye answered that it was My Lord Deputies comannde, Bryan Roe not herby satisfied, addressinge himself to Clanricarde, to be truly enformed, where did this distemper lye, either in the souldier or comannder, but founde by the Deputies acknowledgment himself to be the author, rendringe noe other reason then that it were better to call them in time then that soe many men did perish. My Lord, answered the other, if such a busines be, that wee be soe tender of our proper saftie that we will not expecte to see our enemye in the face, in vaine doe wee wage warr, or putt ourselues into any posture of 752.

The basnesse
of those men.

Bryan Roes
constancie.

Clanricards
answeare to
Bryan Roe
Oneylle.

1651. defence. The leaste this partie could doe (saide he) to expecte untill the enemie came towards them, if not then able to fight, or not expectinge relife, might force as good quarter as they gott by this theire shamfull flight, and that with honor, or why did not they bringe theire armes, and as much bagage as they could carie, havinge sufficient comoditie and leasure to ferie it into the towne? or why did not they demolish both house and bagage? To this onelye did Clanricarde briefly answere, that it was a world of pittie to turne such a house into ashes, that he hoped to gett it againe, soe that Clanricard gave up his owne house freely to the enemie, within a quarter of a mile to Galwaye, which on that side was siedege enough against the towne. The enemie havinge soe prosperous comencement (too well accertained that Clanricard would give noe rubb unto theire further proceedings) began to build turrets of earthe to the number of three, placinge ordinance there-upon, left in them all the matter of 500 men, all which was acted under the deputies nose, at his very doore, havinge 5000 men at leaste, and might have 8000 if pleased him, and the enemie had onely 2500, and never gaue, or suffered to giue, the leaste interruption; nay, not as much as one false alarum, all the well affected cryinge out to the contrary.
753. The enemie havinge thus gained, without labour or losse, the whole province of Conaght, except the towne of Galwaye (which was leagered on two parts) and a nuke of the countie of Mayo, where he ranged at pleasure, takinge garrisons without controle upon sight, caused some Parliament vessells to anchor on Galwaye harbour, and to land some men on Sheepe Iland, to master the towne from them; with his ordinance very comodious, the number of foure score and ten choice mariners and other lustie men was there landed, to builde halfe moones, redouts, and other inginier-worke, to mounte theire artillerie against the towne, as aforesaide, the worke was begun, which, if finished, doubtlesse the towne could not subsiste. This obsearued by the Irish, Clanricarde was sued for remedie, non would he grannte, nor suffer any to oppose (as too tender of the souldiers saftie, as he alleadged), the townsmen and comannders would acte nothings to the disgust of the Lord-deputie, or without his assent, the headstronge multitude, sensible of theire future danger, cryed out to both comannder and souldier; the souldier offered himself for the service, noe comannder would undertake the leadinge of any partie, unlesse comannded by Clanricard (which was the leaste of his thoughts). But Bryan Roe Oncylle publickly offered himself, which motion in the behalf of the peoples exclamation, and in prejudice of the mouer, was freely grannted by the deputie, and a partie of 300 men was picked out, and marched with this newe comannder, whoe thither arriuinge, comannded the whole partie upon paine of deathe to aduance and give an assaulte upon the newe made workes, which noe sooner breathed then executed, and fightinge courageously with the foresaide men, the shippes alsoe discharginge theire ordinance against this partie as thicke as haile. Notwithstantinge this rough intertainment and gallant opposition, this Irish partie had the killinge of all the whole crue in the saide iland then extant, except one onely man, that narrowly exscaped by swiminge; gott all theire bagage, tooells, and instruments, demolished the workes, and turned home victorious, without the losse of one man, except one single souldier that was wounded, but not mortalye.
- His reasonable objection.
- The enemie confidence in Clanricarde.
- Sheepe iland maned by the enemie.
- Bryan Roes courageous resolution.
- 89 persons killed of the enemie, and one wounded of Bryans partie.

Thus did Bryan Roe Oneylle thriue in this expedition, and would often proue fatall 1651.
unto the enemie, if the treacherye of Clanricarde did giue therunto assent.

Our loyall deputie, obsearuinge the facilitie wherwith this peece of seruice was 754.
acted, leaste it did any waye encourage the Irish to the under goinge of others of
higher straine, or abate the intentions of his factionists to giue a rubb therto, he
giues out that he will forgoe the kingdome and take his journey for Franncce, as
scrupulous of the issue of affaires here, and apointe My Lord of Costllagh lord-
justice in his absence (Costllagh questionable for the surrender of Athlone to the
enemie, as no. 737 touched); and to collour this enigma did nominat Lieutenant-
generall Ferrall to comannde the armie in Costllaghs absence, which was the leaste
of his thoughts to truste him with the managment of the armie. All which was
don by the surmishes of Drumore, and the rest of the refractorie-Conatian prelates,
for two maine points; the one to free Costllagh from the danger and penaltie of a
publicke traytor that hanged ouer his heade, by a councell of warr, for the sur-
render of Athlone, for Clanricard was petitioned by both clergie and laytie to giue
way unto a councell of warr to trye that busines, and if Costllagh was founde
guiltie by the saide councells doome to receaue the benefitt therof; or, if inocent,
to restore him unto his former honor and reputation, whereby both freinde and
accusers did receaue condigne satisfaction, otherwise his Excellencie did minister
cause of jealousy and misconstructions in both ciuill and martiall gouernment; these
with other pregnant motiues were moued unto Clanricarde, whoe in noe waye
could be brought to this conformitie. Some of the well affected of the prelates,
obsearuinge noe redresse in soe just a cause, and the deputie not regardinge the
frequent suites of both prelates and comannders in this matters behalfe, addressed
themselves to Westmeathe (as intimat with Clanricarde and antagoniste of the
saide Costllagh), desiringe his Lordship to signe unto the instrument that was to
be preferred unto the deputie in the behalfe of the saide suite, whoe peremptorily
answared that all such as desired or prosecuted the same were not onely traytor
but dishonest and lewde people, swearinge a greate oathe that he would neuer
signe unto it; which sense of this noblman is very strange, he and Costllagh
heretofore sworne enemies, but, odium tertij, against theire loyall co-subjects are
freinds, as Herod and Pilat were euer foes onely against our Sauour, and in relation
to his death are reconciled, et facti sunt amici Herodes et Pilatus in illa die. Sir
Walter Dungan, Comissarie-generall of the horse by the deputies institution, did
swere, sittinge actually in a councell of warr, though Costllagh was by the mayor
vote there condemned, and that his crime were treble soe muche, in spite of them
all would not suffer for it; loe these partiall judges and sons of iniquitie, what they
acte againste justice to free this knowen and publicke traytor, soe charactered in
the whole kingdome, to inueste him with the managment of the kingdome affaires
is the cause and first motiue of Clanricards simulatunge to forsake the kingdome.

The other motiue of the deputies dissimulation was to render the well affected 755.
unconsiderable in the enemie opinion, for those suborned and refractorie prelates
did infuse unto the eares of the armie that whearas theire generall and deputie
was to deserte the kingdome, that they could not after his departure subsiste
without rent and diuision, and, as now considerable, they should doe well to

Clanricarde
intente to
hinder the
future seruice.
His choosinge
of Costllagh
lord-justice
and generall,
notwithstand-
inge his im-
peachment of
treasone.

Seuerall peti-
tions to
Clanricarde
against
Costllagh.

Westmeathes
answears.

Luc. 23.
Walter Dun-
gan's resulte.

Mark what
cankered
action of
prelates.

1651. comannde a trumpeter unto Earthon, deputie for the parliament, desiringe a treague or cessation of armes for a peremptorie time, and in the meane to worke their conditions of settlment, herby assured that the well affected would either joine with them in that treacherous acte (and then those to haue their intent) or sincke from them, and soe not considerable, and consequently upon the last tripp to miscarie, this was the fetch of Clanricarde and his factionall adherents for his desertinge the kingdome.
756. To preuent which rupture, Fa. Anthony Geoghegan, Prior of Conall and missionarie from the Congregation of Cardinalls de Propaganda Fide (no. 723 mentioned), did send Father Bonauentura O'Melaghlin, guardian of Killihy, to Conaght, to imparte unto the well affected of the armie the ensuinge propositions:—
1. First, they should call to mind the betrayinge of Athlone to the enimie Coote.
 2. Secondly, that they should be ware that, beinge in that condition, they be not in like maner betrayed to the same enimie.
 3. Thirdly, that the onely scope of sendinge a trumpeter unto the enimie was to cause rent and diuision amonge them, and soe distracted to render them inconsiderable; the onely remedie, the comannders well affected to sweare a new confederacie for onely religion. Those propositions arriued to Lieutenant-generall Ferrall, Bryan Roe Oneylle, Bryan Mc Phelim, and Daniell oge Keuanagh, whose accordinglie behaued themselves, and were more circumspecte for the future then thitherunto had beene, the guardian did returne home to giue an accounte unto Father Prior.
- The Prior of Conalls industrie.
Whoe well behaued themselves herin.

CHAPTER XIII.

756. WEE haue treated of the within Father Priors letter, sent by Fa. Thomas Mc Kyernan to My Lord Primate of Ireland (no. 723), and my Lord of Clonmacnosc, his addresse to the saide Lord Primat, both desiringe and humbly crauinge to be pleased to indite a nationall Congregation in some indifferent and safe place (as no. 722 touched); he, ad quem, those addresses pursuant therto (as most obseruant of the leaste mandat issuinge from the Courte of Rome), did send his seuerall dispatches to the respectiue metropolitans, desiringe to be pleased to nominat and appointe both time and place for a generall congregation of the clergie of Ireland, and, if they did thinke and conceaue this not soe faysible for the iniquitie of the times, at leaste desired them to indite a prouinciall congregation in their respectiue prouinces, where their suffragans, dignitaries, and others whom it concerned might apeere and conclude one and the same thinge, tendinge to the propagation of holy religion.
757. Notwithstandinge those pressinge requests, conuencinge reasones, and godly motiues, the Archbishops of Tuame and Cashell, with their adherents, had noe minde to comply with those desires, as contrarie to their cuer yett principles: soe that neither the publick and privat insinuations of Fa. Prior, nor the zealous and pious intimations of My Lord Primat could worke any seeming obedience in those corrupt prelates. Onely the Archbishops of Dublin, Fr. Thomas Fleminge,
- The Primats addresses to the metropolitans.
Tuamensis and Cassellensis will not be conformable.

most learned, upright, godly, and noblman, impotent for journey either ahorse or foote, then resident in Galwaye, a courageous stickler for My Lord Nuncio and Duke of Loraigues protectorshipe, did write unto his suffragan, the Bishope of Laghlin, a true childe of the Apostolicall Sea, to his owne Vicar-generall of Dublin, Edmond Reyly, and the rest of the dignitaries of his prouince, desiringe to call a prouinciall congregation, and what there by them conceaued concearning religion propagation, and furtherannce of the cause now in agitation, would ratifie, confirme, and aproue. Those dispatches arriuinge to Linster to the Bishope of Laghlin (the onely then in all that prouince), whoe, most zealous for the effectinge therof, did send notice unto each concerned.

1651.

Thomas
Fleminge,
Archbishops
of Dublin,
his zeale.

The prelates resident amonge the enemie, whoe scarce and with mightie danger could conuene together, but makinge themselues readie the best they could, accordinge the purporte of the saide mandate, and borowinge time, as necessitie required, newes came to them of the untimely death of that braue prelate, the Archbishop, which gaue a shreude rubb unto all religion and Catholicke affaires in Ireland, and retarded not a litle the speedie meetinge of that conuocation for Laghlin, the onely bishope of his prouince now in Ireland, and by that vacancie vice-metropolitan, must looke about him to acte maturely and with consideration, some of his now diocesses beinge vacant of both bishope and vicar, as Ossory and Dublin, the former Vicar of Dublin, Edmond Reyly, did of new institute for the same incumbencie. As for Ossory, his Lordship did appointe vicar of that diocesse one Bryan Mc Terlagh Fitz-Patricke, a zealous, religious, and pious priest, but within a shorte time after God did call him unto a better choice into glorie, in remuneration of his vertues. After whose death Laghlin did nominat one Sheane Fitz-Patricke, priest, Vicar-generall of Ossory. Those thinges did hinder the dispatche pretended in the meetinge of the saide conuocation, and allsoe as beinge fewer prelates, would not anticipate their sense, rather expecte that of Ardmagh prouince as more flourishinge then.

758.

The Arch-
bishops died
in Galwaye.
Edmond
Dempsey
onely bishope
in Linster
prouince.

Bryan Mc
Terlagh Fitz-
Patrick
Vicar-generall
Ossory.

CHAPTER XIV.

WEAKE appetitts are drawn to take displeasinge meats by the sauorie relish which the cuning hande of the cooke giueth them, soe the politician draweth on his confederats to actions displeasinge by seasoninge them with the sweete sauce of profit and gaine, for states are without natural affections, they contracte not amitie, as privat men, by a sympathie of witt and a similitude of maners: It is particular aduantage that knitts them together.

759.

Cic. Off. 2.
Salust. Cat.
Reg. stat. l. 4.

Turpe quidem dictu, sed si modò vera fatemur,
Vulgus amicitias utilitate probat.

Ovid. Pont. 2.

In the no. 473 wee haue made mention of Thomas Deiz, Bishope of Meath, his refraction, seuerallie obnoxious of holy censures by both prouinciall congregation, nationall, and Nuncios, and euer yett continuinge contumax and disobedient therin (as in the saide number you may peruse), this displeasinge meate, to the tender apetitt of a reale and good Catholicke, was made pleasant for the pallat of this

Thomas Deiz,
Bishop of
Meath, ex-
communicated.

1651. prelate by the sauory and relish of those artificiall and cunings cookes the faction-istes, by the sweete grosorie of profitt and gaine (though did abounde with this ware himself), all which and his continuall jolitie was not capable to prolonge his dayes, but must apeere before that Supream Judge to giue an account unto him of his disloyaltie towards his dellegats.
- Died in Galway.
760. About this time, therefore, this prelate died in Galwaye in the selfe same opinion of contumacie in disobedience, wherby his nephewe, Oliuer Deaz, his Vicar-generall, in nothinge degeneratinge from his uncle, but stedfaste in the same sense, was now uacant by the death of the prelate, whose provision did of right belonge unto the metropolitan, My Lord Primat of Ireland, whoe to inuite this prodigall childe to his soules saluation, did send for him, beinge come, gaue him the limitation of two monthes to continue the saide office, to worke his reflection in the interim, that he did recant from his former errors, tellinge him withall, that in defaulte herof his Grace would prouide another for that place, untill His Holinesse his pleasure was knowen, for in that diocesse is noe Chapter to looke to such matters accordinge the Canons. The time apointed for the mendinge this man his former deportment drawinge to an end, the partie in nothinge betteringe, rather seemed by this his recent suposed institution to growe more peremptorie and stuborne, in soe much that he would not apeere by any summons either before My Lord Primat alone, or prouinciall congregation, but geniously followed the foote steppe of his late uncle, and the contumacie and disobedience of Drumore. Wherupon My Lord Primat (seeinge all admonitions would not searue), dispairinge in the reduction of that his strayed sheepe, and allsoe well knowinge his incapacitie of all ecclesiasticall dignitie, by reasone of the multiplicite of his innodations of censures a jure et ab homine, his Grace upon those grounds did nominat and apointe Fa. Anthony Geoghegan prior of Conallmore and missionarie from the Congregation of Cardinalls of Propaganda Fide, Vicar-generall of the diocesse of Meathe, till the further pleasure of his Holinesse was knowen. But Oliuer Deize would render any obedience to either metropolitan or newe elected, though severall excommunications from both (by vertue of the same authoritie, and confirmd by a bull from his Holinesse), did issue against him of whom (if time will searue) you shall heare more in due place. It shall not be extrauagant to our intended purpose, and for the confirmation of faction-proofe to insert here certaine queres, pened by a Catholicke Englishman, which are as followeth.
- Noe Chapter in Meathe.
- Oliuer, his perseuerance in malo.
- Anthony Geoghegan appointed Vicar-generall of Meath by the primat.
- A Papall bull confirminge the same.

CHAPTER XV.

761. WHY you Irish, whoe in the warrs of Germany, Spaine, Franncce, and Pollande haue euer beene famous and renowned, whoe allsoe in the begininge of this your warr not onely admired at home, but allsoe in foraigne nations, beinge then almost naked and weaponesse, like other Machabeyes gloriously fought for religion and nation, are now become soe effeminat, sottish, and cowarde, that first you treate and consulte rather of a dishonorable flight then of any manly resolution to combate?
- 1.

Why if you haue taken armes (as you publicly declared to the world), for the 1651.
defence of religion and libertie of your nation, doe you use sinister and contrarie 2.
instruments for the acheivinge therof, as hereticall gouernor or Catholicke, either
that is ill affected to the Sea of Rome, or contemner of ecclesiasticall immunitie?

Why your deputie and councell alias Catholicks doe adhere and followe the 3.
foote steppe of Henry the eight, despisinge the precepts and mandats of the Sea
Apostolicke, usurpinge Episcopall jurisdiction, and villeependinge the clergie censures,
not herby fearinge they and their kingdome to be subiecte unto the same penaltie
that King Henry and his people for the like offences, which is knowen to both
citty and worlde?

Why the Lord Marquesse of Clanricarde, both Irish and Catholicke, did not 4.
join with the Confederat Catholicks of Ireland, fightinge for religion and nation
from the yeare of grace, 1641, when you began your warr, beinge (as I am
enformed) by both clergie and noblmen Confederats of the kingdome, too often
therunto solicited, and in the yeare 1648 did defende the aduerse partie, sworne
enemie to Catholicke religion, the Lord Baron of Insichuynes, and such others, did
fourthwith apeere?

Why the saide Marquesse of Clanricarde, both Irish and Catholicke, did not 5.
abhor to handle incivilly an Irish monke or prieste with violent hands, whearas
wee Englishe Catholicks, though somtimes rashly doe persecute monkes and
clergie men of another nation, yett doe disdaine and abhor to offende our owne
natiue churchmen in such a nature, as may be seene in that unhapie acte, wherby
the Earle of Castlhauen (guided by a deceitfull spirite and diabolicall instincte)
drive out by force of armes and violent hands the Reuerend Fa. Guardian of
Kilkeny, with some other fryers of the same conuent and Irish nation from their
proper house and home, and rendred them captiues and prisoners to the power of
hereticks, but a fryer of the Englishe nation, dwellinge then in the same conuent,
he suffered to passe untouched and set free?

Why Clanricarde, both Catholicke and Marquesse, and Insichuynes hereticke, 6.
and onely Lord baron, suppinge together in Kilkenye, rather invited an hereticall
minister to grace their boorde then a Catholicke prieste?

Why the counsellors or comissioners of your kingdome, meere seculars and laye 7.
people, nothinge versant in either divinitie or canon lawe, doe arrogantlie presume
to teache as well the vigilantest prelats of the church of Irelande as alsoe the
diuines and canonists of both clergie (of whom too many in the chieftest universi-
ties of Europe are enriched with honorable laur[el]s and doctorall graduations), what
is to be don accordinge conscience?

Why, seeinge the order of nature and the institution of our Saviour Jesus 8.
Christe (witnesses his Holinesse in Extrauaganti, Unam Sanctam, etc.), doe require
that the temporall sword doe receaue its motion from the spirituall, the laitie of
Irelande doe presume to peruerter this order, forcinge the prelats to yelde obedience
unto their owne laicall mandats, refusinge to obeye the episcopal decrees?

Why the assemblies of the kingdome doe presume to themselues the power of 9.
disanullinge the decrees and constitutions of the clergie, wherin is nothinge touched
or acted, other then the administration of sacraments and validitie of censures?

1651. Why the Archbishops of Tuaine and certaine other bishops did administer the
10. sacrament of Euchariste as well to the Marquesse of Clanricarde, prohibitinge the synod or nationall councill indicted by Apostolicall power to be celebrated, as alsoe to others, whoe in the assembly of Loghreagh (gloryinge, as it were, in their malice) did acknowledge to haue concurred to the ungodly expulsion and exile of the most illustrious Lord Nuncio Apostolicke from the kingdome of Irelande?
11. Why the bishops, resident with seculars and laye people, treadinge under foote ecclesiasticall imunities, doe singe noe other songe on their parte of the quire other then that which the asistinge councillors of Kinge Asuerus haue played, viz, that his ordination and decree of the diuorce of his owne lovinge spouse Vasthi was lawfull; not obsearuinge the sayinge of the Holy Ghoste, that the coluber will bitterly bite at him that demolisheth the fenche or hedge?
12. Why doe not you politicke bishops fight as well for the imunitie and priuiledges of Gods church as the pretor or guardian of Galwaye, and the Archbishops of Tuaine doe fight for the imunitie and priuiledges of their owne citties, grannted by terrestriall kings, if euer they hope to be domesticks and dwellers of the citty of God?
13. Why the foresaide clergie in the assemblies are mute doggs, when their deere mother the Church of Irelande, not otherwise then as chaste Susanna, is as an adúltesse introduced into a theater by the foolish and sottish ould men, that she may be destroyed to death by the people, baited therto by the comliness of its territorie and tyethes, where is your filiall love? wheare is your zeale to the house of God?
14. Why, when in the generall and nationall congregation of the clergie at Clonmacnose the yeare 1649, in the kingdomes name and behalfe, two were selected and nominated to present themselves before his Holinesse, supplicatinge his benediction, etc. In the assemblie of Loghreagh the yeare 1650 this course was altered, and Father Oliuerus Bourke, in steede of one of them, is subrogated, but why those two of late or the two former are not sent?
15. Why certaine or some bishops in the assembly of Loghreagh did concurr with the laitie to disanull the acts and constitutions of the clergie congregation, without the assent of the rest of the fathers whoe were partakers of the actinge the saide constitutions?
- It seemes this English gentlman was fully acquainted with all the proceedings of the Irish since those comotions, and knowes both reallist and factionists. Obsearue what character he giues euery one contained in his queres, and specially to Clanricarde and Tuamensis, with their adherents, which is calefication enough of our proceedings—in omnem terram exiuit sonus eorum.

CHAPTER XVI.

762. NOE prince can challenge soe much glorie by victorie, but that fortune will putt in
Plin. l. 2, c. 7. to be sharer with him, because she giues successe beyonde the reache of reasone,

and all ordinarie meanes. This is the comon opinion. But the wiser is, that this happy effecte proceeds out of former causes, as the direction of the leader, quicke execution of the souldier, the advantage of number, order, place, and infinit such like. But the truest is this, an all-seeinge-eye, much vnlicke blinde fortune, and an all able hande, much stronger then weake reasone: whoe, as he is Lord of Hoasts, soe is he the giuer of victories.

1651.
Ariosto.
Cant. 16.
Juve.
Sat. 13.
Livi. l. 22.
Horat.

— valet ima summis
Mutare, et insignem attenuat Deus,
Obscura promens.

All our militia in Conaght (after Bryan Roe Oneylls victorie in Sheepe Iland, and Clanricards similatinge his desertinge the kingdome, as no. 753 and 754 touched) is in a poore condition dispersed, the foote in boggs and montaines in the conntie of Mayo, and the horse in noe better posture (though such as were well affected did acte good service against the enemye now and then). My Lord Primat of Ireland obsearuinge the disscaruinge of the saide armie, occasioned by stronge faction of chiefe comannders, and allsoe the tergiuersations of the prelates to convene into a generall or provinciall congregation, occasioned by the obstruction of some Judasses confidinge in all-seeinge eye to prescribe some antidott and healthy salve against this corrosive venome, pursuant therunto, issued his summons to all concerned in his owne province; amonge the rest to the bishopes of Clonmacnose and Drumore then resident in Galwaye, to apeere at Cloghwater on the 27 of July, 1651. Clonmacnose, as still obedient to both Nuncio and metropolitan, apeered, but Drumore, as not to forgoe his principles of contumacious disobedience to all lawfull superiors, and faction against religion, kinge, and nation, would not obeye.

Our militia
in Conaght in
a poore
takinge.

The cause of this present disrespecte (amonge others) was (which is pursuant to the intelligence sent unto Ormond by Patrickke Bryan, no. 742 mentioned) that about May last this prelate, comannded by the lord deputie, went vnto Vlster to worke rent and distraction amonge the gentrye there; whoe thither arrivinge, the gentrye in a provinciall councill together apeeringe, was some what jealousye of the prelate, as knowinge him to be excommunicated by My Lord Nuncio, would not intermedle in any treatie with such a partie till My Lord Primat did open the gate for them, or at leaste admonishe what was to be don therin, which result soe conceaued, was dispatched towards his Lordship, that he may be pleased to giue a stepp towards them, and that the Bishope of Drumore was their, treatinge by authoritie unto them of matters of high concernment. The Lord Primat answered, dissuadinge them to haue anythinge to doe with Drumore, whoe was in duetie obliged to kisse his hande, and shewe him what comission he had before he proceeded, and if forgettfull soe soone of his (beinge an inferiour) duetie to his proper metropolitan, I will endeavour to teache him what he ought to doe, etc. This My Lord Primats resulte was notified unto the provinciall councill and Drumore, whoe nothinge the better proued, nor shewed any further obedience, rather by his inticinge language and greate oathes perswaded the loyall hearts of those reall minds (as confident in their proper sense that a man of his ranke and qualitie would not deceave them, homo de semine Aaron non decipiet nos) to his owne desire, and notwithstandinge his seuerrall inodations, a jure et ab homine, did

763.

The provinciall
Councill of
Vlster to the
Primat.

The Primats
answerc.

Drumore doe
not much care.

Machab. 7.

1651.

Nicholas
Byrne for this
acte was in the
congregation
punished.

Drumore gott
his owne
desire from
the councill
of Vlster.

764.

My Lord
Primat did
excommunicate
the councill.

Whoe recalled
all they
grannted
Drumore.

This mans
intentions
herin.

His cause of
not apeeringe
in the congre-
gation.

celebrat masse for them, otherwise not wantinge, onely to induce the hearers unto that laborinthe of censures, wherof was thitherunto Scotts free), which obsearued by all the clergie of them partes, none would apeere duringe his continuance there, other then Fa. Nicholas Byrne, Vicar-generall of Dune and chaplaine-major of the armie of Vlster, whoe to indeere himself unto this zeudo-prelate, did continually assiste him, and searued him at masse; whoe at the end of some daies aboade there, obtained of the provinciall councill to be agent for that province (which was the fetcche of all his suite), and what other thinge he conceaued requisitt and behooffull to oblige them unto his devotion did obtaine of them, soe that in effecte had his owne desire, and as much in all points as euer the late Bishope of Cloghar had, except to be Generall of the armie, wherby the intelligence of the said author to Ormond (no. 742 notified) was true in this mans behalfe, that a seconde Cloghar was Drumore in Vlster, loaden now with many heartie good wishes and what incumbencie from the prouince of Vlster, departed towards Clanricarde, wheare he was wellcome for his improument in his saide negotiation.

Noe sooner out of sight then My Lord Primat did call for the provinciall councill, as enformed what they had don in favour of Oliuer Darcy, Bishope of Drumore, against his former advice in that behalfe, all which acknowledged, as aforesaide, did fulminat his excommunication against them jointly and seuerally, for hearinge his masse, conscious of his excommunications, and for granntinge him those honorable offices, and would soe continue, untill they did send him a counter-mannde, recallinge worde by worde what alreadie foolishly bestowed on him, whoe without delaie was obeyed. Thus was Drumore cashired from that greate power and comannde he once enioyed (by deceite) by the subdellegation of the provinciall councill of Vlster by the surmishes of My Lord Primat. Now receauinge sumons from his metropolitan to apeere in a provinciall congregation, foregoinge his duetie to his Grace before, and working the spiritual destruction of that province (the onely in Ireland free from that contagion of censures), beinge obnoxious of seuerall anathems, charactered in the whole kingdom to be a prime factionier, and esteemed a peremptorie, bould, and intruding companion, he should conceaue noe other better intertainment to expecte him there then what he desearuedly was worthy off for each those crimes, viz., whipps, imprisonment, severe reprehensions, suspensions, degradations, etc., because he thought himself worthy of all those penalties would not apeere in the saide congregation. But the other prelates, dignitaries; and others whom it concerned, apeeringe in Cloghwater, did sitt the 29 of the same July, and acted as followeth.

CHAPTER XVII.

In Dei nomine Amen.

INCIPIUNT acta Congregationis utriusque cleri Provinciæ Ardmachanæ die 29 mensis Julij, 1651, in loco qui dicitur Cloghwater, diocesis Kilmorensis per Illustrissimum Dominum Hugonem Ardmachanum Archiepiscopum totius Hybernæ

Primatem eidem Congregationi Præsidentem; assistentibus Reuerendissimis Dominis Eugenio Kilmorensi, et Antonio Clonmacnocensi Præsulibus, Procuratori Dunensi, et reliquis dignitarijs et patribus, etc. 1651.

Statuimus et ordinamus, ut deinceps omnes et singuli qui agunt prædas, rapinas, vel furta ex bonis Catholicorum contribuentium ad utilitatem publicam cujuscunque gradus vel conditionis illi prædones, raptores, vel fures sint, in quarterijs hæreticorum vel extra, absque autoritate publica comitiorum regni vel provinciæ in qua degunt, ipso facto sint excommunicati, utpote reipublicæ perniciosi: Tum qui exercitum Catholicum diminuunt et dispergunt, tum qui inter vicinos et amicos inimicitias excitant, idque sine ullo reipublicæ emolumento. Emptores talis prædæ, rapinæ vel furti restitutioni esse obnoxios sine ulla spe a proprietarijs recipiendi prætij valorem declaramus. 765.

Insuper decernimus ut colonelli, capitanei et locum tenentes, qui vocati a potestate habentibus ad castra, interim domi maneant absque licentia vel Proregis vel Generalis vel Provincialis Concilij ipso facto sint excommunicati, suæ utique in stipendijs receptis restitutioni esse obnoxios. 1.

Statuimus etiam, ut quivis sacerdos sive secularis sive regularis pro populo celebraturus ante missarum solemnias diebus Dominicis et festivis cominatorie promulget ut nullus de populo victum vel hospitalitatem officialis eques vel gregarius miles de exercitu Catholico, qui absentare se a castris sine licentia legitima divinis intersit. 2.

Ita promulget ut nullus de populo victum vel hospitalitatem absentanti supeditet, sub pœna exclusionis a divinis. 3.

Sub pœna excommunicationis prohibemus ut nullus sive clericus sive laicus ab hæreticis vel alijs usurpatoribus decimas conducatur sine titulariorum clericorum vel proprietariorum consensu. 4.

Volumus et declaramus ut personis ecclesiasticis immunitas per canones et concilia ecumenica concessa in hac provincia observetur. Per hoc tamen non intendimus ut præfatæ personæ sint omnino immunes a contribuendo ad præsens bellum pro ratione facultatum prout discretioni ordinarij vel metropolitani consentaneum videbitur, sicut nullus in his regni angustijs a publicis contributionibus eximendus est. 5.

Statuimus et ordinamus ut acta hujus congregationis singulis mensibus per singulos regulares in conventibus et parrochos in parrochijs hujus provinciæ inter missarum solemnias promulgentur. Idque in capellis, et debent proxima Dominica hoc facere post habitam notitiam actorum. Iniungimus ordinarijs ut ea publicari curent. 6.

Quia bonæ memoriæ Excellentissimus Dominus Eugenius Oneyll, quondam Generalis exercitus Catholici in Hybernia, in ultima sua capitulatione cum Ormoundo et sequacibus obtinuerit, antequam se illis coniungeret, se obligarent ad petendam absolutionem a censuris Illustrissimi Domini Nuncij a Sua Sanctitate. Insistendo esse talis promissionis petitioni præsens Congregatio censuit et statuit ut nullus episcopus hujus provinciæ in assemblyis vel comitijs generalibus regni assideat, nisi prius impetrato beneficio dictæ promissionis. 7.

Hortatur etiam omnes et singulos provinciæ suæ nobiles (prout de honore tenen- 8. 9.

1651. tur) ut non assideant tanquam membra in aliquibus comitijs nisi primo requisito dictæ promissionis beneficio.

10. Præsens congregatio declarat, et protestatur, eiectionem Illustrissimi Nuncij nationi imputari non debere, cum major et sanior regni pars, nobilium, cleri et populi in illam expulsionem non consensit quæ etiam sanior pars ad amussim censuras per eundem Illustrissimum Dominum Nuncium latas observauit. Sed dicta eiectio facta est a quibusdam schismaticis in regimine existentibus, qui declinauerunt a reliquis Confederatis. Dicto hymno Te Deum Laudamus, finit hæc congregatio, 1^o Augusti, 1651.

Signed : De mandato Illustrissimi Domini Hugonis, Ardmachani, Archiepiscopi, totius Hybernæ Primatis, et congregationis vocalium.

Ita testor : Jacobus Gauan, Secretarius Congregationis, etc.

Which in English is thus :

766. The 29 of July, 1651, doe comence in Cloghwater, in the diocesse of Kilmore, the Congregation acts of both clergie of the province of Ardmach, and in the same place are finist the first of August the same yeare, the most Illustrious Huigh of Ardmagh, Archbishops and Primat of all Ireland, presidinge, asistants the most reuerend lords, Eugenius Kilmorensis and Anthonius Clonmacnosensis, bishops, the proctor of Dune and Conor, with the rest of the dignitaries and fathers whom it concerned.

1. First, wee straighly charge and comannde henceforwarde all and singular that comitts plunder, pillage, preye, theft, or rape of Catholick goods, for the publicke auayle contributinge, of what degree or condition soeuer, the saide plunderers, pillagers, preyers, rapers or theeves be, whether in enemie quarter or elsewheare inhabittinge, that comitts the foresaide crimes without publicke authoritie of the kingdome or provinciall councill wherin they liue, to be ipso facto excommunicated, because such acts are to the comon wealthe pernicious, tendinge the disunitinge and lesseninge the Catholicke armie, and allsoe doe foment enimnitie and rent betweene neighbours and freinds, and that without the leaste profitt of the comon-wealthe. Wee allsoe declare the buyers and receauers of such plunder, pillage, rape, or thefte, to be obnoxious of restitution without any hope to receaue from the propriators the leaste satisfaction.

2. Wee further decree that all colonells, captains, and lieutenants, that are called to the fieelde by such as haue authority, and yett continue at home without speciall licence, either from the lord deputie generall or provinciall councill, to be ipso facto excommunicated, and what salarie or meanes such doe receaue or extorte from the publicke to be obnoxious of restitution.

3. Wee allsoe charge and comannde that all and euery the priestes, whether secular or regular, as they are to celebrat for the people Sundaies and holy daies before masse, doe publishe aduicely this our acte, and all such officers or officialls of horse or foote of the Catholicke armie, that absents themselues from the fieelde without lawfull authority, as aforesaide, are interdicted from asistinge at diuine seruice.

4. Item, lett it be enacted and published, that any man yeldinge meate, drinke, or

hospitalitie to such as absent themselues, as aforesaide, from the fiede shalbe 1651.
excluded from diuine seruice.

Wee prohibitt and forbid, under paine of excommunication, that none, either 5.
ecclesiasticke or laitie, doe buye tiethes from hereticks, or other usurpers, without
the consent and aprobaton of the titularie priests or propriators.

Wee will and declare that the imunities grannted unto churchmen by the canons 6.
and other eumenicall counsellis in this province be obserued. This, notwithstanding,
inge, we doe not intende that the saide persons be altogether exempt from contri-
butinge to the present warr, accordinge theire respectiue abilities, as to the discretion
of the ordinaries or metropolitan shall seeme fittinge, soe that none in the anxieties
of those times in this kingdome should be exempt from publicke contribution.

Wee charge and comannde that those our congregation acts be published eveye 7.
monthe by each priest of this province in his parrochiall church, and by the
regulars in theire respectiue conuents, or in theire chaples, or oratories, at masse
time, and lett the same be don the very next Sundaye after notice herof. Wee
inioyne allsoe the ordinaries to be uigilant in the execution herof.

In as much as his Excellencie, Owen Oneyll, of hapie memorie, somtimes Generall 8.
of the Catholicke armie in Irelande, in his last capitulation with Ormond and his
adherents, obtained (before he joined with them) that they should oblige and
binde themselves to begg an absolutione from his Holinesse from the censures
inflicted on them by the most Illustrious Lord Nuncio, the now present congrega-
tion insistinge in the performannce of that promise, doe charge and comannde
that noe bishope of this province doe apeere in either assembly or grand councill
of this kingdome, untill they obtaine the benefitt of the saide couenant and
promise. And doe admonishe all and singular the nobilitie of this province (as in 9.
honor obliged) not to asiste or apeere as members in any theire generall assemblies,
untill the compliance of the saide promise obtained.

The present congregation doe declare and protest that the eiection and expulsion 10.
of My Lord Nuncio should not be imputed into the Irish nation, for the greatest
and soundest parte of both nobilitie, clergie, and people did not condescende
therunto, nay, did exclaime against the same, for allsoe the soundest parte did
punctually obsearue the censures fulminated by My Lord Nuncio. And doe further
declare the saide exile and expulsion was putt in execution by certaine schismaticks,
bearinge swaye then in the gouernment, and declined from the rest of the Confederats.

Te Deum singed, this congregation was dissolved and finished for the present,
1^o August, 1651.

De mandato Illustrissimi Domini Hugonis Ardmachani Archiepiscopi et
totius Hyberniae Primatis et Congregationis vocalium.

Witnesse, Jacobus Gauan, Secretarius Congregationis.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THESE be the acts conceaued in this congregation, and by reason of the iniquitie 767.
of the times, the numerositie of the vocalls, and the scarcitie of meate and drinke
in the countrie, was dissolved for the present, and dellegats apointed, with full

1651. power to continue sittinge, whoe were My Lord Primat, Kilmore, Clonmacnose, and the Abbott of Kilbegan, and other two divines, whoe pursuant to their apointment, as occasion was dayly offered, did acte the subsequent, confirmed by all the rest about the later end of August the same yeare, and becaused, confirmed by the members of the said Congregation (though penned by the Dellegats) wee lawfully call it by the name of Congregation Act, which is as followeth :

Per Congregationem Ecclesiasticam utriusque Cleri, coram Illustrissimo Domino Hugone, Archiepiscopo Ardmachano, totius Hyberniae Primate, etc.

768. Pastoralis nostri officij exigit ratio ut pervigili oculo perscrutemur, qua occasione et modo populi nostri diuinum offendunt numen, eiusque iram et vindictam in se excitant, unde tot flagellis et castigationibus, gladij, famis et pestis, incessanter affligimur, ut, cognita causa, tantis malis opportuna remedia adhibere conaremur, ne tanquam mutui canes non valentes latrare tantarum animarum stragies authores arguamur, et pereuntium divina dispositione nostrae curae commissorum sanguis a Supremo et Iusto Iudice merito e manibus nostris exquiretur. Nouit et admiratus est orbis Christianus, quanta alacritate, quanta unione, quanta felicitate natio nostra Hybernica prosecuta est sanctum bellum divino instinctu ad auitam restaurandam religionem et nationis libertatem vendicandam gloriose a se susceptum et superno adiuto auxilio, multis aucta victorijs contra Dei et ecclesiae hostes, episcopatus, aliaque ecclesiastica beneficia suis veris possessoribus restitui, re-edificare ecclesias, templa monachis et religiosis repleri, monasteria curauit, et vno verbo omnia sancte perfecisset, et Ecclesiam pristino suo splendori restituisset, nisi Diaboli instinctu et opera quorundam deceptorum prelatorum et tepidorum Catholicorum in medio victoriarum primo cum hoste Dei regni et regis foedus iniisset, et si ob id multis fuerit castigata flagellis, sed authores illius foederis in nullo meliores effecti, sed potius pertinaciores facti, in tantam devenerunt caecitatem, Deo tanti sceleris impietatem persequente, quod cum adhuc sceleratiori supradictorum hoste Barone de Insichuin magis nefandam et magis damnabilem inierit societatem, contra expressam voluntatem Illustrissimi Domini Nuncij Apostolici, maioris et sanioris partis utriusque cleri, qui dictam societatem ut religioni Catholicae perniciosam et exicalem damnavit, et dyrijs execrationibus anathematisauit et execratus est.

769. Hujus foederis impietati vt ostenderet Deus, ita Hybernorum enerrauit vires, effeminauit animos, ut a die quo illud nefandum foedus pepigerunt, nihil virile, nihil strenuum, nihil laude dignum effecerunt, sed panico timore correpti faciem inimici ferre non poterant : multo minus cum eo quominus congredi audebant, ut mille calamitatibus et miserijs afflicti, quibus tamen non obstantibus non contemnenda pars tam cleri, quam populi, eidem maledicto et execrato adhæsit foederi, reliquis indebita et auita erga Sanctam sedem Apostolicam eiusque ministros observantia et obedientia firmiter permanentibus : Unde factum est quod natio miserabiliter in varias partita sit factiones nam authores et fauentes iniquo foederi, nostris partim coniventibus, partim dolo et fraude circumventis, Ormondum, haeticum Proregem, induxerunt, et contra iuramentum associationis de deffendenda fide Catholica, et iustis regis prerogativis vendicandis sancto susceptum caput totius regni constituerunt : qui primo suo in regnum ingressu, ne de eius

fide et intentione dubitari contigerit, publico et typis edito scripto, mundo declar- 1651.
 auit et protestatus est, se velle vivere et mori in religione protestantica, eamque
 pro posse propugnaturum et propagaturum, quod et opere complere aggressus est,
 nam quam primum clavam suscepit regni, gloriosum nomen Confœderatorum
 Catholicorum (quo eo usque tanquam titulo honoris, et erga Deum fidelitatis deno-
 tabantur Hyberni) abolere, et penitus extingui curavit. Tempia Catholicorum
 eiectis veris pastoribus, suis ministellis hæreticis tradidit; religiosos, et Deo sacra-
 tas uirgines è monesterijs et clausuris deturbavit: Arces et municipia regis et ipsum
 caput regni Dublinium inimicis vendidit et tradidit: Et deletio supremo consilio
 regni sibi acciuit quosdam suæ electionis et factionis commissarios, quibus ad nutum
 utebatur, solum ut continuis impositionibus, totam regni pecuniam et substantiam
 sibi corroderet, terramque licentiæ militari comittens, ut inde, et salarium et sus-
 tentationem milites extorquerent, omniaque pro libitu et libidine, sursum deorsum
 evoluit. Donec tandem totum regnum euiscerauit et depauperavit, et non sine
 graui piorum suspitione, inimico comuni Parlamento subiecit.

Nec fœlicius agit ejus substitutus, Excellentissimus Dominus Marchio Clanri- 770.
 card, qui huc usque fœderi Catholicorum nomen dari noluit, et sancto nostro bello
 semper ab initio contrarius extitit: Etsi Catholicus tamen in deprimenda ecclesia
 ejusque imunitate frangenda, ipsi Ormondo palmam præripuit: nec merito in
 regimine Deus ei suam denegat assistentiam, cum magistratum acciperet ab
 Ormondo, cum onere tantarum execrationum et anathematum ob impiam et con-
 demnatam Cessionem cum Insichuin, ob maliciose impeditam Synodum natio-
 nalem autoritate summi Pontificis indictam: ob infamem et scandalosam eiectionem
 Illustrissimi Domini Nuncij a regno: ob tyranicam incarcerationem et contumeliam
 personarum ecclesiasticarum atque omnia, ipse præ omnibus principaliter accurrit.
 Hæc et aliæ enormitates in nos iram Dei et vendictam prouocauit, ut fame, peste,
 gladio, misere pereamur et affligimur, et tam viles et timidi simus quod nec a longe
 inimicum aspicere audeamus. Si enim vnus Achan anathemate enodatus adeo Josue 7.
 exercitum Israel eneruauit, quod voce ipsius Dei stare non possit coram inimico nisi
 ab eo auferetur qui anathemate fuit polutus quid non possint in uno regno, aliquot
 præsules, multi magnates et nobiles, ecclesiastici ex utroque clero quam plurimi qui
 supra dictis anathematibus habentur infecti? Quorum in Sedem Apostolicam inobe-
 dientia eiusque ministros pertinax contemptus, iram Dei in nos et vindictam
 accendit. Quorum demeritis corpora nostrorum militum prostrata multis in locis
 inhumata iacent; templa multo nostro sanguine comparata, et è manibus hæreti-
 corum erepta, iam ab iisdem sacrilege polluantur. Lugenda, horrendaque sunt,
 quæ oculati testes aspicimus, undique vastitas ecclesiarum, squalor altarium, fuga
 antistitum, religiosorum, sacrarumque virginum, profanatio misteriorum execrabilis.

Iacent passim cænobia semidiruta, dispersa sacerdotum collegia, et, vno verbo, 771.
 quidquid est sacrosanctum in Ecclesia Die pessundatur, villipenditur et contem-
 nitur. Quapropter nos infrascripti antistites, prælati et ex utroque clero theologi,
 diuino (ut credimus) instinctu moti, et continuis conscientiæ stimulis agitati, ut tam
 luctuosæ animarum stragi in hac sacra congregatione modus imponeretur, rem
 mature, et pro pastoralis nostræ obligatione inspeximus ut quantum cum Deo
 potuimus, exanimauimus, et unanimi consensu inuenimus et iudicauimus supra

1651. dicta anathemata nostrorum malorum et infortunarum esse causam omnesque nostras misérias et calamitates, tanquam ex fonte, ex iniqua dicta societate et Ecclesiæ contemptu profluere et emanare. Proinde censemus omnes tam de clero quam de populo, qui prædictis anathematibus noscuntur irretiti, teneri in conscientia, tam pro salute animarum suarumque quam pro incolumitate regni, et ad evertendam iram Dei a natione humiliter et pœnitenter se submittere Sedi Apostolicæ, ab eaque petere absolutionem. Ad quod eos in visceribus Christi adhortamur: sintque memores humanum esse errare, et diabolicum perseuerare. Specialiter fraterni admonemus nostros confratres prælatos, omnesque ecclesiasticos ut sicut suo exemplo, persuasione, et nouitate doctrinæ, populum in dictos errores et enormitates induxerunt, ita Christiana humilitate, zelo fidei et charitatis, tanquam vere filii orthodoxæ Ecclesiæ, verique pastores ac lucernæ fidelium pro quorum animabus Iusto Iudici reddituri sunt rationem, se ipsos et eundem populum ad gremium et consortium matris Ecclesiæ (a qua horrendum schisma et inobedientia avulsit) reducere cum effectu conentur.

772. Quod si his nostris salutaribus, ac fraternis monitis (quod Deus auertat) acquiescere nolent, hoc publico scripto, coram Deo protestamur, per nos non stetisse quin ad pristinam unionem, et Romanæ Ecclesiæ gratiam redirent, nosque pro posse nostro pro hac parte nostræ satisfecisse obligationi. Insuper nos antistites et prælati in virtute Dei, et potestate ordinaria qua fungimur omnibus nostris subditis, tam ecclesiasticis quam laicis, omni quo possumus rigore mandamus, et sub pœna maioris excommunicationis prohibemus, ne comunicent, aut se coniungerint, sive in eodem exercitu militando, sive in assembleia vel consilio consultando cum eis qui se prædictis excommunicationibus sunt infecti, donec Sedi Apostolicæ submittant, eidem plene satisfaciant, et absolutionem et gratiam accipiant: nam ex tali consortio lachrymanda experientia videmus, pertinacia prædictorum firmari et crescere nostros fideles decipi et corrumpi, et contemptum censurarum Ecclesiæ, ac despectum Romanæ Sedis ministrorumque ejus augeri. Enixe in Domino hortamur omnes nostros fideles et obediētes ut his nostris admonitionibus et prohibitionibus cum effectu acquiescant et obediant, nec desperant, quod hac separatione futurum autumant suum scilicet exercitum minuendum quia ex parte Dei eis promittimus pauciori numero electo ab omni censurarum contagione libero, sed in fide, et obedientia firmato, victoriam fore magis certam magisque gratam et magis gloriosam quod multis sacri eloquij testimonijs luculenter comprobari potest, et hoc unum pro mille sufficiet. Amassias rex Iudæ congressus cum Idumæis conducit ex Israel (qui a vero Deo cum impio Ieroboam rebellarunt) centum robustorum pro centum talentis argenti, sed voce ipsius Dei dictum est ei per prophetam, O rex, ne egrediatur secum exercitus Israel, non enim Dominus est cum Israel, et cunctis filiis Ephraim, et ne non obediret desperans de paucitate sui exercitus fidelis, simul intentatæ sunt ei minæ, subdidit, enim ibidem scriptura. Quid si putes in robore exercitus bella consistere superari te faciet Deus ab hostibus et rationem indicans. Dei quippe est inquit et adiuuare et in fugam conuertere, et hoc siue in multis, siue in paucis. Paruit consilio Amassias, contaminosum dimisit exercitum, et victoria cum suis paucis obtinuit, cum alias cum multitudine impia perditurus erat. Sic in nostro casu. Pugnate igitur confidenter milites Christi eadem inten-

tione qua cœpistis, pro fide, rege, et natione, et sperate, non in brachio corrupto 1651.
carnis, nec in robore aut multitudine exercitus, sed in Domino Deo, qui dedit vobis
mirabiliter bella Domini incipere cum paucis et inermibus et confidite, quod eadem
benignitate vobis dabit et perficere, quod faxit Deus per gratiam Vnigeniti Filij
Sui et Domini Nostri Jesu Christi. Amen.

Ultimo Augusti, 1651.

Signed, ut ita testor,

Jacobus Gauan, Secretarius Congregationis.

' Though it be against the breuitie intended, I cannot omitt to English this, that
many ignorant of the Latine tongue may really and truely conceaue how dilligent
the true pastors and prelats were in the union and association of Catholicks, and
ever averse to rent and division, and specially the clergie of the Province of
Ardmagh, which is as followeth.

CHAPTER XIX.

By the Ecclesiasticall Congregation of both Clergie assembled, as afore- 773.
said, before the Most Illustrious Lord Hugo, Archbishope of Ardmagh,
and Primat of All Ireland, etc.

The tender care of our pastorall charge doe desire that by a most vigilant eye
wee exactly examen how, and in what maner, our people doe offende the Divine
clemencie, and against themselues doe excite his wrath and vengeance, whence soe
many gaggs, punishments, and castigations, of sworde, famine, and pestilence,
wherby wee are dayly afflicted: that the cause of soe many euills knowen, wee
endeavour to apply timely salues and remedies therunto, least, like unto doggs not
able to barke, wee be thought authors of the miscariage of soe many soules, and
that the bloude of such as perish (comitted by Divine disposition unto our care) be
desearuedly required by the supream and righteous Judge from our hands.
Admired and publicke it was to the viewe of the Christian world, with what
alacritie, with what godly vnion, and with what greate prosperitie our Irish nation,
by Divine instincte, haue comenced this holy warr, most gloriously undertakinge
the restauration of our predcessors and inative religion, vendicatinge our nation
libertie, and, asisted by high power, haue obtained many triumphant victories against
the enemie of God and his holy Spouse, the holy Church, restoringe bishopricks
and other ecclesiasticall benefices to theire true owners, repairinge decayed and
ruynous temples and churches, replenishinge monesteries and abbies with monkes and
religious people, and, in a worde, would bringe all thinges soe godly to passe, and
would restore the Church to its ancient splendor and luster, if not diabolicall fraude
and the false surmishes of some degenerat prelats, colde and tepide Catholicks, was
interposed, whoe haue intred into a cessation, in the very height of our victories, with
the enemie of God, kinge, and kingdome. And though this had the tryall of soure
sourzes, yett the authors of that cessation, therby nothinge thrivinge, rather greoue
more peremptorie, pertinax, and willfull, became soe talpative blinde (God persecut-
inge the impietie of soe abominable a deede), that yett with the most wicked of the
foresaide, the Baron of Insichuynne, have intred unto a more ungodly and damnable

1651. league and societie, against the expresse vote of the Most Illustrious Lord Nuncio Apostolicke, the greatest and soundest parte of both clergie, whose condemned the saide cessation as pernicious and distructiue to Catholicke religion, and with dyrfull execrations did abhor and anathematize it.

774. That the Almighty may shewe to posteritie the impietie of that cessation, soe weakned the Irish that their naturall sinewes were impose of all ablement, effeminate their courage, that, from the very daye they complied with that execrable cessation, nothinge manly, nothinge hardy, nor anythinge praise worthy haue they achieved; beinge soe terrified by punicall cowardize could not abide to see the enemye afarr off, much lesse to attempte him in the leaste conflict, ouerwhelmed with thousand calamities and miseries. Notwithstandinge all this, a considerable parte of both clergie and laitie did adhere unto the saide execrable cessation; the rest, firme and constante, remaininge in their due and inative obsearvance and obeysance to the Sea Apostolicke and its ministers: wherby ensued the miserable estate and condition of our nation, devided into severall factions, for the conthriuers and favorits of that impious cessation (some of ours coniuinge, some by fraude and deceite undermined and circumvented) brought in for viceroy the hereticke Ormond, appointinge him sole heade and gouernor of all the kingdome, contrarie to the godly oathe of association taken by all Catholicks of the Confederacie, in defence of Catholicke religion, vndication of his royall Majesties just prerogatiues, and the libertie of the nation. Noe sooner did Ormonde treade upon Irish grounde (least any should doubt of both his religion and intentions) then by a publicke instrument in printe did protest and declare unto the world that he would live and die in the Protestant religion, and the same to his uttermost power would defende and propagat. Which he began to put in execution, for noe sooner did he handle the kingdom helme then bethought to extinguish and wholly abolishe that glorious name (Confederat Catholicks) wherby untill then the Irish nation was charactered, as a badge of honor and fidelitie towards God; he allsoe began to bestowe Catholicke churches upon his proper hereticall crue of ministrells, the true owners reiected, religious and vestall virgins, to the Almighty consecrated from their monesteries and cloisters, exiled, castles, forts, and stronge holts that belonged unto his sacred Majestie, naye, the seate royall of all the kingdome, Dublin, he sould and gave up into the enemye; the supream Councell by him displaced, and applyed unto himself others of his owne caruinge and faction, whom he called comissioners, to use them onely at a winke for the leauinge and aplottinge of continuall impositions and taxations, to scrape all the kingdome coyne, substance, and marrowe to himself, committinge the whole lande into the licentious militarie, that the souldiers may extorte their meanes and sustentation from thence. All he turned topsi toruy for his owne use and appetite, untill at length impouerished and euiscerated the whole kingdome, and not without the high censure of graue witts, that in all did receaue his influence from the comon enemye, the parliament.

775. Neither doe his Excellencie the Lord Marquesse of Clanricarde, Ormonds substitute in the kingdome, prove lesse ominous and fatall, whose neuer hitherto signed to our Catholicke Confederacio, and was from the begininge most auerse and antagonisticke of our holy warr, though Catholicke, in oppressinge of religion and

contraveninge of Church immunitie gayneth the garlande of Ormonde himself. 1651.
Neither doe the almightie undesearvedly denie him his Diuine asistance in his gouernment, receauinge his magistracie from Ormond, with the insupportable burden of soe many execrations, curses, maledictions and yrfull anathems, for the impious and damned cessation with Insichuyne, for the maliciouse interruptinge of a nationall congregation or synod, by his Holinesse authoritie indicted: for the enfamous and scandalous expulsion of the Most Illustrious My Lord Nuncio from the kingdome; for the tyranicall imprisonment and oprobrious contumelies of ecclesiasticall persons to all those, haue he principally before, and more then others, concurred.

Those and such other enormities have provoked the Diuine indignation and wrath 776.
against us, that wee doe miserably perish, and are highly punished and afflicted by famen, plague, and sworde, and are soe vile, fearfull, timide, and cowarde that wee durst not looke in the enemie face afarr off. If the excommunication (wherby onely Achan in the Israeliticall armie was intangled) did soe discourage the whole campe, that it was tould by the proper voice of God to Josue, then Generall, that they could not subsiste in the enemie sight unlesse the partie therof guiltie did suffer, what then, will not doe in a whole kingdome, some prelats, many grandees and nobles, ecclesiasticks of both clergie, and too many others, whose are infected with the foresaide anathems and excommunications, whose disobedience and pertinax contempte against the Sea of Rome and its ministers haue blowen the coales of Divine indignation and wrath against us; by whose demeritts the corps of our militarie forces doe laye prostrate in severall places, not interred; our churches, by our proper bloude gained, and from the jawes of hereticks snatched, are by those most sacrilegiously poluted; horide and lamentable are those things which are unto our sight objected, euery wheare desolation of churches, vglinesse of aulters, the banishment and exile of prelats, the execrable profanation of religious, sacred virgins and holy ministers, euery wheare monesteries and abbies existent half ruyned, the sacerdotall colledges dispersed, and, at a worde, what soeuer holy or deere to the Church of God contemned, villipended, and treade under foote.

Wherefore wee, the undernamed bishops, prelats, and of both clergie diuines, by 777.
the Holy Ghoste (as wee belieue) together assembled, moued by Divine instincte, and edged forward by the continuall tender care of our consciences to prescribe in this sacred congregation, the maner, as an antidott preseruatiue to soe lamentable perishing of soules, by our pastorall obligation havinge maturely and seriously beheld and obsearued the cause (as farr as wee could), assisted by God Almightye, did examen, and doe unanimously finde and judge the onely cause of our former euills and misfortunes to be the formentioned excommunication and anathems, and all our miseries and calamities to flowe as from a fontaine, and deriue their course from the foresaide impious societie and contempte of holy Church. Whearfore wee judge that all such, as well of the clergie as laitie, that are knowen to be obnoxious of the foresaide censures to be obliged in conscience, as well for the safetie of their respectiue soules as allsoe for the betteringe and furtherance of the kingdome affaires, and withall to auerte Gods indignation from the nation, to submitt themselves unto the Sea of Rome, humbly and penitently to begg absolution from

1651. thence. To which wee exhorte them in the bowell of Jesus Christ. Lett them call to minde that it be the humaine parte to err, but the diabolicall to perseuere. Wee specially admonishe brotherly, our cobrother prelates, and all ecclesiasticks, as by their example, perswasion, and moderne doctrine they haue induced the people to the embracinge of the saide errors and enormities, soe likewise by Christian humilitie, zeale of religion, and charitie (as truly becometh the children of holy Church, true pastors of soules, and lanternes of the faithfull, for whose soules they are to render an accounte to the just and righteous Judge), doe really endeauour to reduce, not onely themselues, but allsoe the saide people to the sweete lappe and cheerfull company of our holy mother the Church, from whom horide schisme and disobedience haue avulsed. But in case this our fraternall and healthy admonitions (which God forbid) would not take effecte, by this publicke-written instrument wee doe protest before God that it is not our faulte that they should not returne to the former vnion and reconciliation into the Romaine Church, and doe deeme ourselves pursuant to our capacities to complye with our obligation in this behalfe.

778 Furthermore, wee, the bishops and prelates, by vertue of Gods authoritie and the ordinarie power which wee enjoye, doe, as straight as wee maye, comannde all our subiects, as well ecclesiasticke as laitie, and doe forbid, under paine of maior excommunication, that they comunicat not nor joine, whether it be in the same armie fightinge, whether in the assemblies or counsellis consultinge, with such as are infected with the saide censures and excommunications till they submitte themselves unto the Sea Apostolicke, and giue the same full satisfaction, and receaue grace, benediction, and absolution from thence. For by such communication (as by lamentable experience wee see) the contumacie of the foresaide anathematists doe take roote and encrease, our faithfull are beguiled and corrupted, the contempte of ecclesiasticall censures and disrespekte of the Sea of Rome and its ministers augmented.

779.1 Wee doe in our Lord tenderly admonishe all our faithfull and obedient children that they filially giue eare and obedience into these our admonitions and prohibitions. Lett them not despaire, for wee promise them in the behalfe of God Almightye, by a choice fewer number, free from the contagion of all ecclesiasticall censures, in faith and obedience firme, the victorie to be more certaine, more gratfull, and more gloriouse before God, which by many testimonies of Holy Writte may be cleerly evidenced and auerred; but to shune prolixitie, lett this one for a 1000 suffice: Amassias, kinge of Juda, goinge to the fildes against the Idumeyans, did invite mercenarie forces of Israell (whoe from the true God, with impious Jeroboam, haue declined and rebelled) a hundred thowsand warriors for one hundred talent of siluer coine. But God Almightye spoke to him by his prophet, and saide, O kinge, lett nott the armie of Israell beare you company, because our Lord God is not with the Israellitts, nor with any the broode of Ephraime. And leaste Amasias should disobey, dispairinge in the small number of his owne faithfull followers, the prophet, in pursuance of his former advice, fulminated minaces and threats, sayinge in the same place, If you thinke the victorie to consiste in the force, valor, and manhoode of your armie, God will cause you be overcome by the enemye, and rendringe reasons therof, saide it is the parte

2 Paral. 25.

and propertie of God either to helpe or turne to flight, and this whether it be in many or in fewe that adhere unto himself. Amasias obeyed, dismissed the contagious armie of Israell, and obtained the victorie with his owne fewe forces, whose otherwise by the impious multitude would be lost. Wherefore, souldiers of Jesus Christe, fight confidently by the very same intention that you begun this holy warr, for religion, kinge, and nation, and hope not incorrupte and fadinge humane power, nor in the strenght, courage, and multitude of your forces, but onely in the helpinge hande of our Lord God, whose grannted you maruaylously to comence the warr of our Lord with a fewe weaponlesse and naked men, and be assured that by the same benignitie will grannte you the grace to goe forwarde and beare the sway, which the God of hoastes may be pleased to grannte, by the grace and intercession of His Onely Son, Our Lord Iesus Christe. Amen.

Vlt^o Augusti, 1651.

Signed ut supra,

Ita testor: Jacobus Gauan, Secretarius Congregationis.

These actes of the clergie of Ardmagh province doe evidently shewe their fervor in religion, their vigilancie towards the saftie of their flocke, their zeale to the comon good of the nation, their obedience to the Sea of Rome, and their innocencie in the abominable and vnchristian expulsion of the Lord Nuncio Apostolicke. The attestation of which congregation of soe many prelats, fathers, and diuines is noe small evidence and calefication of our former assertions in the discovery of faction, as any indifferent man may see, without partialitie conceaued by the perusall of both. In this same congregation the Bishope of Clonmacnosc and Father Anthony Geoghegan, Prior of Conall, missionary form the Congregation of Cardinalls, and now Vicar-generall of Meath, were appointed agents to the provinciall Congregation of Linster (wheras not yett assembled), by whom the former acts were transmitted, that, accordinge the instructions of the holy Congregation of Cardinalls, may agree in one and the same thinge, tendinge to vnitie and confederacie of the nation, whose thither arrivinge, the prelats and pastors were cheerfully sumoned by the Bishope of Laghlin, Vice-metropolitan at present, a true child of Catholicke religion, whose conveninge together at Ballaghanea, in Clonmaliry, in the Queenes Contie, did unanimously aprove, confirme, and conceaued as a proper acte all the former of Ardmagh Congregation, pursuant to the Cardinalls instructions (as aforesaide) and conceaued others, and did choose delligats or agents from their province to sitt in Galwaye, with other such from the respectiue prouinces (as in due place you shall obsearue). As for other provinciall Congregations, they held none, for Conaght prelats, Tuaine, Kilfinora, Killalla, and Tymochoe, will not admitte the nomination of a Congregation, leaste any thinge were there acted contrarie to their former contumacie against the Lord Nuncios censures, or their proper treasonable faction. As for Casselensis and Limbricensis in Monster, with others of the same broode, receaued their influence from these Conatian cometts, from Ormond and his successor Clanricarde. But what the well affected prelats of Monster haue don, sittinge with the laitie, you shall in due place obsearue.

780.

The zeale of the Congregation of Ardmagh.

Clonmacnosc and the Prior of Conall, agents.

Edmond Dempsey, Vice-metropolitan of Linster.

The clergie of Conaghts refracion.

The clergie of Monsters behaviour.

1651.

CHAPTER XX.

781. ONE especiall care of a captain, and amonge the first for successe in the action, is to looke well to the armes and armour of the souldier, for these often prevaile both against the number and valour of the enemye. Wherefore, if seconds in single fight be very circumspecte that there be noe odds in the combatants weapons whom they putt together, upon all equall and indifferent tearmes: much more is a leader to be ware that the enemye haue not this advantage upon him, because in single fight the dexteritie and skill of one of the parties in usinge his weapon, or his agilitie, or nimblnesse of bodie, or his alacritie and viuacitie of spirit may prevaile against this odds. But in a battle, where the fight is in a firme station, and a greater desire of offendinge and killinge others then of defendinge and sauinge themselues, odds of the weapons is much more advantagious.

Ensis habet vires, et gens quæcunque virorum est,
Bella gerit gladijs : sed Medos prælia prima
Exarmant, vacueque iubent remeare Pharetræ.

The behavior
of Clanricarde,
Generall in
Conaght.

His counter-
manddinge
orders for
destruction.

The inhuman-
itie of Conaght
men.

O poore
Linster and
Vlster men,
when will ye
be wise ?

Wee left Clanricardes armie in the countie of Mayo in Conaght, leadinge a miserable life, staruinge, though the countie plentifull enough, and full of keraghts, but durst not touche one cowe without orders; noe waye was giuen to acte any service on the enemye, goinge at randome in loose companies in sight and upon advantage. When it pleased the Deputie-generall (moued therunto by the continuall suite and earnest supplication of the distressed comannders) to grannte his orders, in the behalfe of the starvelinge armies relife, to gett some beefes from the said keraghts, to this effecte issued his orders in the morninge, picked out the matter of a 100 or sometimes 200 for the execution therof; but comanndinge theire staye in campe till about eveninge, comanndinge his dispatches in the interim unto the foresaid keraght (wherunto the saide partie was to marche), straighly charginge and requiringe them to stande in armes for proper defence, and rescue theire cattle from such a party, notwithstandinge his owne orders to the contrary. Whereupon invitinge theire neighbouringe keraghts, intimatinge the Lord-deputies intentions, whose flockinge together in greate multitudes, pointe-blanke readie against the saide partie, whose arriuinge to the place appointed without breathe or courage (as cominge 7 or 8 miles, for a long time before without meate, drinke, or rest), intendinge to put theire saide comanndes in due execution, which the keraght people obsearuinge, havinge more recent orders then the souldiers, did gather together in battle araye (neuer regardinge theire orders, or that they were theire confederats, or that they were in extreame necessitie of relife, or that they were either Catholicks or natiues fightinge, or at least exposinge theire proper liues in theire behalfe), ran with such furious and merciless behaviour on, puttinge them out of countenance by the over-swayinge number and better appointment of that multitude, killinge, maiminge, disarminge, and strippinge the poore innocent souldiers, such of them as could saue themselves by the benefitt of a good paire of heeles, runinge with the best speede possible to the campe, as well to enforme what hapned unto

the partie, as allsoe in hope to be a guide with a stronger partie to the same place, 1651.
to force satisfaction, and relieue the saide parties miserie, which notified in high
measure of grivance unto Clanricarde, would neither by himself repaire the losse of
both men and armes soe miscaried, nor giue way to the respectiue officers and
comannders interested to force satisfaction. This tricke did the peere-deputie use
seuerall times, in soe much that one moytie of the Linster forces (in the behalfe of
whose destruction this plott was hatched) did not apeere, as killed, stoned to
deathe, or fled away from their colours, as not able to subsiste under that merci-
lesse comannder, and such as were extant, and did patiently beare all these
miseries, were not usefull as weake, naked, and disarmed. Noe seruice was don
worthy relation, noe armye maintained, nor redresse grannted by either deputie or
keraghts for soe transcendent and inhumaine abuses, wherby this Peere-Generall
proues himself to be either noe souldier or an arch-traitor, for, accordinge our
former aphorisme, the chiefe care of a captain should be to looke well unto the
souldiers armes and maintenance, without which is impossible to preuaile against
freinde or foe. All this our present Generall disrespectinge, giues large testimonie
of both his ignorance in the arte he professeth, and his refraction in the other he is
reputed to represent.

The Generall
noe souldier
or a traitor.

Mortagh OBryan resident in Tomond with a partie, played his parte very well 782.
against the enemye, did send intelligence to the Linster and Vlster comannders in
Conaght, to be pleased to send him some reliefe, whearupon the matter of a 1000
foote was selected and comannded for this expedition, under the leadinge of Colo-
nell Art Mc Huigh Boy Oneylle and Mayor Teige OConor, of Linster and Vlster
infanterie, whose thither arriuinge, the relieued was mightie comforted and behaved
themselves very actiue, to the mightie prejudice of the enemye, too often cuttinge
him shorte of both provision, munition and men, whose continued their reall,
loyall and good service, as comannded by comannders of the like graine. The fore-
saide Conaght armie starvinge and idle, as aforesaid, must now shincke or swine,
either disperse or miscarie. Their comannders therefore, now too late (though
better late then neuer), understandinge themselves, whether they will or noe, must
alone keepe with Clanricarde or followe their souldiers, whose, as they were able,
marched in a dispecked bodie and loose companies with all expedition towards the
countie of Letrim, Clanricarde and his other comannders poastinge to Jamestowne
to overtake them, which was not of that abilitie. Colonell Daniell Keuanagh, fol-
lowinge his owne men, overtooke them in the countie of Longforde, whose with much
adoe could perswade them 4 daies onely to staye for his owne person to accompany
them for Linster, all his saide staye was expectinge the remaine of the Linster
forces, gatheringe apace into the foresaide countie that they might marche toge-
ther in some seeminge posture. The enemye horse poastinge in their pursuite
towards Bellaleige, a braue passadge upon the Shanon, and a place of greate con-
sequence, was upon sight surrendred into the enemye without a blowe (as was
publickly conceaued by the influence of Clanricarde); howeuer, all the inhabitants
lost what they had therein, and soe did Lieutenant-generall Ferrall loose his goods
founde in the castle. We leaue the Linster forces gatheringe into the countie of
Longford, and turne to Clanricarde.

Art Mc Huigh
Boy Oneylle
and Teige
Conor goen to-
wards Mortagh
OBryan to
Tomond.

The Linster
forces scatter-
inge.

Bellaleige
taken by the
enemye.

CHAPTER XXI.

783. Of all bad ingredients into the heart of man, there is none poysons it soe much
 Livi. l. 1. with the venome of treasonable thoughts as that of disdaine. The prince that sees
 Salust. this mischievous seede planted and growne amongst his captains in time of their
 Cic. Phill. l. 5. employment, and seekes not to roote it up with a quicke and sharpe hande, is in the
 Senec. high roade to his owne ruine.

Claud. in Ruf.
 2.

Quod tantis Romana manus contextit annis,
 Proditor unus iners angusto tempore uertit.

The non-ad-
 mittinge a
 councill of
 warr against
 Costillagh was
 greates cause of
 this distemper.

The disdaine of this Peere-Generall towards both comannder and souldier of
 Linster and Vlster partie, beside his treasonable intentions, had his increase from
 the prosecution of the lawe of armes, that they did seriously desire, against Cost-
 tillagh; this may be thought sufficient grounde (though was not alone) to foment
 much distemper in loyall hearts, and to excite venemous poison in cankered breasts;
 jealousies of this kinde did give a rough touch of diservice in the armie, and likly
 will soone bringe the spectator judge, convinge at, unto the high roade of his
 proper ruine; noe sooner, therefore, was the comannder and souldier of Linster
 province (the onely suporte and mouers of the former suite) out of the way towards
 the countie of Longford, as aforesaide, then Clanricarde, with such as were extant
 of the faction comannders, did sitt in Iamestowne in a councill of warr upon the
 subiecte of the surrender of Athlone against My Lord of Costillagh, there extant by
 Clanricards apointment. Lieutenant-generall Ferrall and Colonell Lewes Moore,
 obsearuinge noe indifferencie, aduiced the deputie with the rest to forbear de-
 claringe their intentions untill a full councill upon better leasure did sitt upon a
 matter of that concearnment, but this sounde advice not takinge place, the givers
 refuseinge to continue the issue of soe partiall proceedings tooke their leaue, and
 followed the rest of their comrades. All the well affected, thus givinge grounde,
 the Deputy-generall asisted with fewe comannders of his faction, and the verie delin-
 quents did sitt in a cabinet councill, and declared their judgment in the behalfe
 of Costillagh, and Sir Robert Thalbot for the surrender of Athlone, as aforesaide.
 Westmeathe, Sir Walter Dungan, Walter Bagnall, Sir Thomas Esmonde and
 Clanricard, were the chiefe and most asistinge in this cabinet councill, all of the
 same character with the araigned. This much notified unto the Linster comannders
 were mightie offended with the abuse offered unto men of their ranke, the onely
 suporte then of Conaght armie, and most desirous, at all hazarde, to marche to
 their proper prouince, to giue a rubbe to any such expedition, writtinge his press-
 inge comannds that they should expecte amunition (the onely thinge they thought
 to haue neede of in Linster), wherunto condescendinge, 200 foote of the Linster
 forces was picked out and sent to the countie of Mayo for it, at the highest degree
 of hazarde, in which journey the saide partie did spende upwards of a fortnight,
 and at lenght arriued to Boyle, from whence it was impossible to goe for-
 ward, which the Linster partie obsearuinge did onely expecte the cominge of the
 conuoye.

A cabinet
 councill held
 by Clanricarde,
 and what they
 be.

The danger of
 this party.

In this interim (which was the fetche of all Clarincards tergiuersations) intelligence was sent unto the enemie to be in a readinesse for opposinge this Linster partie to their native Province, which was exactly put in vre. This scene soe cunningly contriued, the amunition conuoye ouerlabored arrivinge to their partie. All, both horse and foote, was comanded by the Deputy-generall to marche towards Bellaleige extempore, as to leager the same, on Linster side of the Shanon, where was nothinge apointed, either of provision or amunition, other then verball promises to see them furnished with plentie, the country there yeldinge nothinge of that stuffe, as waste and barren, without tillagh or inhabitants, onely boggs and woodes, whoe, notwithstandinge all former jealousies and ruptures, did yelde punctuall obedience, marching thither, obsearvinge seriously the situation of the place, the impossibilitie of thrivinge to any purpose, and their proper eminent danger (if a weake enemie did leager them), for they could neither retire or advance, to fly onely into the aire was their onely saftie, if any inconveniencie did apeere, yett did continue there in that miserable pasture for 3 or 4 daies. But the souldiers (havinge a sadd tryall of Clanricards inhumanitie towards them, and as God did mercifully dispose) will not obey either generall or under comannder upon that score any further, but, maugre all threats and comanns to the contrarie, will marche to Linster, which was the unanimous consente of all the infanterie at leaste, the comannders must either continue alone or marche with their now fewe men, which they did, onely Bryan Mc Phelim stayed with the matter of 50 musketiers, for 8 daies, and then followed the rest. The enemie, accordinge the foresaide intelligence to give a rubb unto the poore Linster partie, was now readie; Coote from Conaght marched with his forces towards Athlone, and from thence to Ballimore, where he was to joine with Venable, governor for the Parliament in Vlster, whoe were assured to leager the Linster forces in that nuke, wherunto were purposly comanded by Clanricarde, from whence, accordinge all humaine induction, was impossible to escape but God, in the behalfe of those inocent and reall soules did otherwise contriue the busines, that they were nowe past the danger of those armies, wherby the enemie deluded and disapointed of his service, and Clanricarde of his intended treachery frustrated, Coote did turne to Athlone and Venables with 2000 foote, and the relation of 500 horse with some ordinance marched to the countie of Cavan, the onely now in Irish possession in Vlster.

1651.

784.

Intelligence
sent unto the
enemie.The publicke
treachery of
this Generall.All by Diuine
disposition.Bryan Mc
Phelim did
stay behinde.Coote and
Venable with
their armics
to Ballimore.

CHAPTER XXII.

To giue the reader a further touche of the factionists malice, I must refreshe his memorie with the articles of transaction betweene his Highnesse the Duke of Lorraine and the comissioners sent and authorized by the deputie Clanricarde for that purpose, which were publickly signed and sealed, interchangably by both partie, and transmitted, as authenticke, by the saide comissioners to the Deputy-Clanricarde, and by his Excellencie publickly notified and comunicated to the whole king-

785.

The malice of
the factioniers
always dis-
couered.

1651. dome-viewe; notwithstandinge soe demonstratiue and conuencinge evidence of the veritie of that action, the factionists are soe deuide of all shame, that they will not blushe to denye openly, with seuerall asseuerations, soe publicke and knowen truthe, attested by the publicke instrument of soe noble a [*blank*] prince, and many other prime hands, which articles beare date 22 July, 1651 (as no. 727); that all men may see what beleefe those are worthy of, you may peruse the subsequent letter penned by his Highnesse to the bishops of Ireland, whereby you maye partly deeu unto their malice, which is in hæc verba :

786. Illustrissimi ac Reuerendissimi Domini :

The Duke of
Loraignes
letter to the
Prelats.

Quis sit vester erga me animus, quæque de meo in vestrum ordinem vniversum regnum amor et fiducia per Illustrissimum ac Reuerendum Episcopum Fernensem et per Dominum Prestonem, equitem auratum, viros vobis juxta fidos et mihi probatissimos luculenter accepi, atque hæc illorum oratio, rem mihi longe gratissimam, optatissimamque facilo persuasit, et ad amplectendam rerum vestrarum curam sponte iam satis prono, non mediocre adiecit stimulum dum animadverterem eos, qui, et sacerdotij dignitate et fidei zelo, et patriæ charitate, et rerum agendarum peritia principem locum tenent mei quoque amandi ornandique studio procellere. Quamobrem ea potissimum opinione confirmatus, quamvis tristissimi ex Hybernia rumores spargerentur, ac meipsum multiplici ac necessario bello implicitum propria magis et proxima sattagere debere iudicarent plerique omnes, quam alienis et remotis intempestive imisceri. Tamen ut fusius vobis exponere deputati, nullis neque difficultatibus neque periculis impensarumque magnitudine deterreri potui, quin inceptam cum iisdem deputatis transactionem perficerem, ijs sane conditionibus quæ primam religionis causam stabiliunt, cætera vero ex jure regio et regni commodis sic attemperant, ut verendum non sit, ne in cuiusquam offensionem impengant nisi eorum qui hostibus animis et armis hæc omnia persequuntur, aut certe per occulta flagitia apertis hostium machinationibus adhærescunt. Vos vero cum ij sitis a quibus et purissima consilia, propter ordinis sanctitatem, et promptissima opera propter amoris affectum expectanda sunt, certissime confido vos nefarios proditorum molitiones, pari sapientia et fortitudine oppressuros, necnon in fouenda militum, populorumque constantia, in conciliandis diffidentium animis, alijsque rebus ad salutem incolumitatemque vestram serio procurandis, omnem operam industriamque possituros. Pergite ergo generosi antistites, et hanc quasi disposatam vobis gloriam ne repudiate, ut nos non modo religionis sed etiam patriæ patres ac patronos merito apud posteros fama deprædicet. Ego vero quemadmodum ille, qui primus Imperatoriam Maiestatem publicæ religionis Christianæ professioni consecravit patribus Nicæni Consilij Co-Episcopum se in politica Ecclesiæ administratione dicere non dubitabat: Sic et vos mihi in propugnanda fide quasi socios ac comilitones esse gloriabor. Interea, dum in adornando supetiarum aparatu, ea celeritate et copia, quas utique temporis necessitas patitur totus incumbo festinando huiusce Misoparonis traiectionem putavi, moleste ferens cum Abbatis a Sancta Catharina redditus in multam æstatem inciderit propter prolixiorem eius in Hybernia moram necnon vastissimam Borealis Oceani navigationem me promptiore via uti non potuisse, ut vos, tum de prædictis rebus, tum de perfecto inter me ac deputatos

tractatu admonitos redderem, necnon de mea erga vos constantissima voluntate 1651.
securus.

Illustrissimi ac Reuerendissimi Domini

Vester studiosissimus ac amantissimus

Datum Bruxellis, 10 Septembris, 1651. Subscribitur—Carolus Loraigue.

Illustrissimis ac Reuerendissimis Dominis Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Regni
Hyberniae.

Copia vera. Ita testatur Antonius Clonmacnosensis.

You see, reader, how his Highnesse doe acknowledge in this his letter to the
prelats of Irelande that he agreeed with the agents sent and impowered for that
purpose, as by the verie transactions (as aforesaide) you may obsearue, and further
sayeth, though most sorowfull newes are infused into my cares from Irelande, and
meself entangled in many and necessarie warrs, beinge the sense of eache man
I should rather endeavour to settle my proper affaires at home then untimely to
intermeddle with alien and foraigne busines farr off; notwithstandinge, noe kinde of
difficultie, danger or charges how greate soever, will hinder me to undergoe what I
began, accordinge the transactiones concluded with the agents (as they may more
at large acquainte you off). The rest, he writes verie lovinge, engaginge himself
to asiste them, and aduicinge them how to behave themselues in the meane while.
All this, notwithstandinge (with the attestation of Clonmacnose to be a true copie
of his Highnesse addresse), the factionists doe give out those transactions to be a
meere chymera, neuer extant in rerum natura, or in case they were (saide they) are
prejudicious to both kinge and nation, and that the kings majestie will not admitte
of this man to be protector of this his kingdome, and that his Highnesse did allsoe
engage himself unto the Parliament of Englande for a greate quantitie of moneye,
both which are incompatible. Any indifferent judge will deeme all this to be an
indicible affront to soe eminent a man, an absolute prince, that he should be soe
waveringe and unconstante in his resolutions, signinge to those publicke and Catho-
lick acts, leavinge them in recorde to posterity, and not to comply with, rather
(in the sense of those) joininge with their knowne enemye; if this had beene soe,
why did he send agents unto this nation, or receaue any from? or why did he
sende twenty thowsande pounds of his moneye, with a greate store of provision,
amunition and armes for the kingdome use? if he was to shrinke from the con-
cenant already indorsed, why did he sende the saide magazine? upon what score did
any man conceive that such a prince did bestowe soe much on this kingdome,
other then in compliange of the transactions, and to be accountable for it, as therein
mentioned? It is incredible that soe pious, Catholicke, and riche prince did euer
offer to comitte soe base an acte, what needes a riche man be a theefe? neither was
his Majestie euer auerse unto this bargaine, rather sued his Highnesse to continue
and goe forward in the transactions, with his subjects of Irelande, prooffe wherof
you may obsearve in the ensuinge letter of Doctor Tyrrell, a most zealous and true
man, highly acquainted with his Highnesse, which is as followeth:

787.

A confutation
of the faction-
ists former
assertion.

Decellish and
false surmises
of factionists.

A greate in-
jury hereby don
to the honor of
this prince.

1651.

788.

Doctor Edward Tyrrells
letter confuting the
foresaide surmishe.

Right Rouerend Father in God,

And my very good Lord, though your Lordship had not beene pleased to comforte me with your good successe of late by yours settinge fourth the state and condition wherunto it pleased our God to haue advanced your affaires in that our desolate cuntrye, yett I understande of it, by seuerall wayes doe congratulate with all my hearte, those whoe are the principal authors, and will not cease to praye the Almightye for their prosperitie. My Lord, I haue understoode a huge alacritie to haue beene produced in our people, by the same succors sent by his Highnesse the Duke of Lorraine, a most pious and charitable prince. I doe kindly intreate your Lordship to spurr our friends to continue the same waye, to gather much more courage, by the assurance you may give them of sudaine greater supplies to be sent, if not else sent by his Highnesse, whoe hath resolved not onely the venture of loosinge his good in a high measure, but allsoe the loosinge of his owne person for to establishe our religion, and rescue us from the slauerie of our merciless enemies, a most heroycall resolution. It maye be some will saye that his Highnesse will forsake us, and others can be had whoe will cheerfully succour us, and that without delaye, but such are not to be beleaved, untill experience doe teache you that they haue advanced much more then £40000 sterling for your relife and protection, as this generous prince hath else done. France hath enough to doe, and if it be won to doe any thinge for us wee shall not be ungratfull for it, yett wee must not lett slipp the occasion which God of his infinit goodnesse hath given us of makinge us possessors of the hearte of a most Christian, pious, stoute, and riche prince, altogether deuoted to our helpe, and in such a sorte, as I beleewe his second cannott be mett withall in this age. Our kinge, God be praysed, is here safely, and of his owne much inclined to helpe us, if it were Gods pleasure to enable his Majestie with power proportionable to his good will, for which wee must acknowledge our behouldingnesse to sticke to his intrester, as farr as they may not be destructive to our religion, which wee are to preferr to all humane consideration, because it is our duetie to our God and principall Master, whoe is our kings Master allsoe, as well as ours. My Lord of Ormond is here, and accuses My Lord of Fearnese of treason, and doe intende upon his owne suggestion to keepe my saide good Lord from payinge his duetie to the kinge, which is to kisse his hande. But if Fernensis be not admitted to speake to his Majestie he will make knowne to the world how he is used. The kinge will write to those of Limbricke and Galwaye kindlye, and will allsoe endeavour to helpe you all in generall as he maye. Truly I beleewe his inclination to fauor is well and good, but if he make use of your declared enemye you must looke to yourselues, or else you will feelee the smarte of it. His Maiestie hath writen to the Duke of Lorraine a civill and good letter, prayinge his continued asistance to comforte his subiects of Irelande, which is a sufficient motiue for you all to sticke to your treatie, concluded with the saide Duke, and not to beleewe such others as endeavour to diuert you from the obseruances of the same. This much you maye signifie to all our friends, to whom I cannott write at this present, prelats, noblmen and gentlmen. Comende me to my brother, I pray lett me heare from him; comende me to my cossen, the prior of Conallmore, of whom I wonder I cannott here, and shewe him this letter, if he be there. I will

write many others, but not soe ample a letter as this, and thus in hast I will 1651.
abide

Signed: Your Lordship most humble Servant and Kindsman,
Paris, the 29 of November, 1651. Subscribed, Edward Tyrrell,
For my good Lord, Anthony Clonmacnosensis Episcopus etc.
Copia vera: Ita testor Fr. Antonius Clonmacnosensis.

This soe large a testimonie, cominge from soe goode a hande (whom together 789.
heretofore wee made very true and reall use), and attested by soe prime a member
of Gods church, voide of all exception, is demonstratiue evidence of both the
veritie of our former assertions in the behalfe of faction, as if the inueterat malice
of factionists deniinge the saide couenant, or articles of transaction to be concluded
betweene his Highnesse and this kingdome, or brutinge by the false surmises of
these whasps the dissent of his Majestie therin, for soe zealous and learned a man
would not soe asseverantly write such weightie matters, and of soe eminent sub-
iects, without settled and sure ground, as any man of indifferencie may judge.
Obsearue what character he gives his Highnesse, notwithstandinge the sons of Bean,
to bride rent and diuision in the nation, doe publish (to theire proper perpetuall
enfamie) the contrarie. This graue father is nothinge like his brother Thomas
Tyrrell the Lawyer, of whom he makes mention in this his letter. Væ vobis qui
dicitis bonum malum et malum bonum.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THANKS for benefitts receaued are turned unto hate, when they are soe greate as 790.
they cannott be requited, or when they are bestowed upon him whoe takes them Tacit. An. l. 4.
as don of duetie, or necessitie, and is unwillinge to requite them: for in such a Seneca. Ep. 19.
man the desire of havinge more is stronger to wronge his freinde, and make warr Suet. in Cal.
upon him, then the memory of kindnesse receaved, either to requite those former Pet. Dial. 93.
fauours, or relinquish the action undertaken.

Et dum quærendis inhiat quæsitæ non meminit.

In the no. 783 wee left Clanricarde and his cabinet councell in Jamestowne
(wherof was My Lord of Westmeath), as there touched, where he was by the
Deputie appointed Generall of the Irish forces of Linster, whence dispatched towards
the countie of Longforde, where such as adhered unto him of horse and foote did
him expecte, and the amunition left in Boyle (as in the foresaide no. mentioned)
comeinge to him, as for the seruice of Linster, he placed in his owne house of Termon-
berra, where makinge some needlesse delaies, the Vlster gentrie and comandars had
the oportunitie to sende unto him pressinge addresses, that he may marche towards
them to Tarbert (whero at present they were recrutinge theire armie) with onely
horse, for foote they had enough, at leaste the matter of 5000, that jointe might
relive with ease Bellanacargie Phillippe Mc Huigh OReyllyes house, leagered by

Westmeath
Generall of
Linster by
Clanricarde.

Bellanacargie
siedge by
Venables.

1651.
The Earle of
Westmeath
denyed a poore
relife to the
Vlster men.

Venable aforementioned, which he excused for the present, that he had noe considerable partie for such an expedition, whoe the seconde time in a more pressinge waye sued him, assuringe his Lordship of very good seruice, and desired onely three score horse, and not to trouble either his proper person or any other, onely that sett number, whoe dayly promised compliyanse of their requeste, but when they should there apeere, accordinge this peeres faithfull and honorable engagement, marched the precedent night to Linster, leauinge his Confederats and sworne associats to themselues, not regardinge the duety of a Catholicke Generall in that extremitie, the tye of Confederacie, the loyaltie of a subiecte to his kinge, the zeale of religion, nor the inatiue charitie of a Christian patriott to his neighbouringe kindsmen, neither once dreaminge of the excesse of this very peoples humanitie towards him, at the free and voluntarie relife sent unto Fyena, upon his Lordship desire (as no. 699 mentioned), which cost them treble the liues of such as they now desire, which benefitt was neither of necessitie forced, nor of duetie obliginge (onely in vertue of holy union and association), but this peere neither in retorne of the same, as gratfull, nor in relation to the other as sworne to brotherhoode, rather in disdain and hate of both will complye with neither promise, oathe, couenant or obligation, but stole awaye, leauinge all passadges free for the enemye to enable his owne.

791.

The Vlster comannnders thus disappointed of Westmeath, contrary to their expectation, resident in Terbert, as aforesaide, My Lord Primat of Ardmagh did send them, I meane the gentry of that province, at present there, the ensuinge addresse.

My Lord Primat
letter to
the gentry of
Vlster.

Sirs, Pursuant to the late actes of the congregation of clergie for the Prouince of Ardmagh, wee comannnde you, under the penaltie expressed in the saide actes, not to joine with any armie, as incurred My Lord Nuncios excommunication, nor sitt in any thaire counsell or assemblies till such time as they gett the benefitt of the application of Generall Owen Oneylle of hapie memorie in his capitulation with Ormond and his adherents. Dated the 29 of September, 1651.

Signed : Hugo Ardmachanus Archiepiscopus.

Subscribed : for the Gentry of Vlster.

Copia vera : Ita testatur Jacobus Gauan, Secretarius.

792.

By the Gentry of Vlster in answere therto.

May it please your Grace,

The gentry
answere
therupon.

Your Grace his letter of this daies date wee haue receaued, wherein you desire us to use our endeavours with the Lord-Deputie, and others interested, in causinge the article made upon the capitulation betweene the Lord Marquesse of Ormond and the then government of the one parte, and Generall Owen Oneylle and his partie, of the other parte, concerninge the excommunication against many of the kingdome to be performed, otherwise Your Grace doth threaten us with censures. Wee conceave the present troubles of our nowe meetinge is soe well knownen to Your Grace, that you will not thinke the time fitt for it, but whensoever hear-

after Your Grace shall please to comannde us to prosecute the same, wee wilbe 1651.
readie to obeye, and remaine,

Your Grace his most humble seruants,

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Signed : | Terlagh Oneylle. | Phelim Oneylle. |
| | Phillipe OReylly. | Phillipe OReyllye. |
| Dated, 29 Septembris, 1651. | Huigh Mc Mahon. | Colla Mc Mahon. |
| | | Meyldes OReyllye. |

Subscribed : for his Grace Hugo Ardmachanus.

Copia vera : Ita testor Fr. Antonius Geoghegan, Vicarius Generalis Midensis.

When My Lord Primat did send this addresse, the comissioners of the prouince 793.
of Vlster were in Terbert callinge theire forces together, to relieue Bellanacargie, as
aforesaide, against Venables ; upon the receipte of this resulte My Lord Primat was
satisfied, wherupon did comannde a Father unto them as a proper attorneye,
desiringe them to goe forwarde to relieue the saide place, with his benediction,
neuer doubtinge in the diuine asistance. The gentrie hereby encouraged, notwith-
standinge the Earle of Westmeathes treacherie and ingratitude, as aforesaide, next
moringe did intende to marche in open felde to Bellanacargie, like another
Alexander against Darius, not to steale victorie by night, which was not soe
privat, but Venables had notice therof, and havinge battered one quarter of the
castle by the losse of 200 of his men, in a disordered maner, marched awaye by
night, the garrison understandinge the enemye flight by a poaste, certified the
Irish armie therof, whoe marched timely in the morninge ; theire horse followed
the fugitive enemies tracte, and ouertakinge some lesse exposed for celeritie, did
cutt them shorte of theire liues, and much of the baggage was taken and caried to
the Irish campe. Thus was Phillipe Mc Huigh OReyllys house relieued, Venables
putt to flight, the garrison victorious, and the Vlster armie encouraged ; and all
this the fruite of holy obedience to the pastors of holy church.

Plutar. in
Alexand.

Bellanacargy
relieued, and
Venables en-
damaged.

Vol. 11. Page 203.

APPENDIX.

LETTERS, DOCUMENTS, ETC.

I. GENERAL OWEN O'NEILL TO PLUNKET AND BARNEWALL.

Sirs,

Yours of the 23th current I received and doe wish you all happines 1649.
and success in the negotiation to you intrusted, beseeching the Allmighty that your March 25.
indeavours may produce an effect that may redownd to the preservation and libertie Owen O'Neill
of Catholique religion and this unfortunat nation. I have in my last dispatch to Plunket
appointed the place of meeteing at the Abby of Shruell on Thursday next, where and Barnewall.
our Com^m will indoubtably meete; the salfe conduct I sent you is inclosed in my
Secretaryes lettres to my nephew Daniell O'Neill, which you may breake oppen :
The salfe conduct you desired for the Bpp of Ffernes I now send inclosed in his
owne lettre; and doe assure you I neuer was, nor wilbe (whiles I be a Catholique)
soe tyranicall or cruell as to lay hands, any way molest, or intermeddle with his
Lordship or any other person of his calling, suppose they had beene in the heart
of my quarters without any passe or salfe conduct, soe as in y^t point I am much
different from your party, whoe by horrid abuses, committall and imprisonment, etc.
doe manifest theire power to poore Clergymen; however God forgiue them; I am
noe iudg of theire actions, but am

Your most humble servt,

25 Mar: 1649.

Owen O'Neill.

For Sir Nicholas Plunkett, Sir Richard Barnewall, Knights, these.

II. SIR GEORGE MONRO TO OWEN O'NEILL.

S^r,

I haue yo^r lett^r last daie to Daniell O'Neill, wherein you mentione us (being the 1649.
Kings armies) to bee yo^r adversaries. By my owen extraction I have soume interest March.
in the Irish nation w^{ch} moves mee to compassionatt those of y^t nation who doe not
looke upon this independentt partie as naturall enimies of the Irish people, whoes
Monro to Owen O'Neill.

i. Carte Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford, vol. xxiv, p. 144.

ii. Carte Papers, vol. xxvii, p. 132.

APPENDIX.
1649.
March.
Monro to
Owen O'Neill.

lands they have already sold makinge their account of haveinge their persons drauers of wood and watter, rather then persons of Emmencie in armies or commonwealths, wherof by the Kings late peace they ar sufficiently made capable. I confesse if one Irish man can bee a scourge to his owen nation, or instrumentall to distroye the Kings right, they will give him soume faire words, and supplie soume mony, butt keepe him from all trust, either in their armies or garrisons, that they may destroye him att pleasure when they have served themselves by him. I am confident you are soe weale knowne to their destructive resolutions in relation to this people, and the interest of them, as any in Irland, therfore I shall only say that men descended of such people as you are shoulde rather build upon the favors of ther soverraigne prince then to expeicte any advantage of theis vyle persounes, whoes respects tend only to make upp . . . persounes, and putt doune all men of yo^r tyrranizinge over everie persoun In ther power, and keeping faith to none. Whate ever bee the eventt of bussines I have discharged my selfe as a frend, w^{ch} I should bee willinge to wittnes when yo^r resolutione shalbee agreeable to Gods word, who sayes rebellion to bee as the sonne of witchcraft to yo^r interest and hon^r, and of yo^r people, w^{ch} should indeed perswaid mee to bee effectually yo^r verie humble servantt.

For Generall O'Neill.

Endorsed : S^r Geo. Monro to Owin O'Neill, Mart. 1649.

III. RELATION FROM IRELAND.

1649.
13 April.
Relation
from Ireland.

A Relation taken at Havre de Grace the 13th of Aprill, 1649, st: no: from a gentleman that came newly out of Irland.

Who sayeth that he came from Duncannon in Ireland y^e 1st of March last, and that then there had been from our present king, since the death of our blessed Soverain, no dispatches or orders at all received by the Lord Lieut^t of Irland, but that his Lo^{pp} very earnestly desired and expected y^e same every day.

That M^r. Fanshaw was sent expressly from y^e Lo: Lieutenant with full dispatches to his Ma^{ty}, and was come to Corke before this gentleman embarqued at Duncannon.

That the Marq^s of Antrim hath submitted to y^e articles of peace, and was come upon the Lo: Lieut^t safe conduct into his Ex^{l^{ty}} quarters, and was to be at Limerick with y^e Lo: Lieut^t y^e 1st of March last.

That wheate is at Waterford at 15 shillings the bushell, and rye at 10^s, Winchester measure, and all manner of flesh and all other provisions are now also in Irland very deere; the kingdome being so extreamely harrassed and impoverished, as there is hardly food for the inhabitants and souldiers there, insomuch as if the Irish frigatts of Waterford and Wexford had not happily brought in great store of prizes of corne, the people could not haue subsisted for want of bread.

That the Lo: Lieut^t appointed a rendezvous to be the 30th of March last for the

Lord Inchequins and the rest of the Munster forces at Cassell, in the county of Tipperary, about 70 miles from Dublin, and they were to quarter neere that place to be exercised for about 12 or 15 dayes, and then to march thence towards Cartellow, there to joyne with all the Lenister forces, to be in a readinesse to march towards Dublin by the beginning of May, if by that time there shalbe forrage in those parts.

APPENDIX.
1649.
13 April.
Relation
from Ireland.

That 248. 82. 243. 76. 20. 92. 48. 23. 5. 30. 34. 40. 10. 37. 85. haue agreed
to the peace x
237. 243. 213. 476 according to the Articles and submitted to the Kings Authority
invested in his Ma^{ty}s Lo: Lieut^t there yet the y x r e t a in e
390. 38. 58. 31. 6. 4. 82. 163. 245. owne possession and power 88. 243. 28. 55 in
22. 31. 29. 88. 84. 290. 39. 506. 163. 83. 56. he 277. 91. in 88. 123. 58. 37. 78.
and castles y were be e x the pea ce x w un til
91. 292. 38. as the 72. 265. 98 for 12. 86. 243. 213. 391. 59. as made. 252. 249.
such x time as what h all be x by
232. 496. 426 92. 259 is by the Articles condescended unto 39. 49 88. 98. 82 99
his Ma^{ty}s x r at if l e d and ;con fl r me d x to them
148. 350. 499. 54. 92. 161. 31. 13. 50. 91. 106. 9. 33. 54. 197. 51. 83. 237. 243. 14.
x where to be done in x Parlia^t a x
76 260. of many things are 237. 98. 112. 163 506 377. there; And if 46. 85.
Parliam^t h all x be t here c all e d x be for e x
377. 490. 38. 49. 88. 77. 98. 56. 152. 20. 88. 10 52. 79. 98. 123. 11. 466 the 47.
f f a r e in x Ireland better com po s d x and
8. 7. 44. 32. 54. 12. 37. 163. 498. 333. shalbe 101. 107. 27. 26. 38. 13. 50. 83. 91.
s e t l e d few to s ltt x x but c
39. 10. 58. 56. 5. 13. 50. there will be very 8. 11. 60. 237. 38. 162. 56. 80. 97. 21.
at h o l i q u e s x x presse to haue all
92. 48. 25. 4. 31. 35. 41. 11. 39. 78. who will 216. 12. 237. 144. 88. advantages in
the 48. 31. 66. 49. 13. 38. 57. 200. 19. 10. 55. 77. 7. or the 32. 53. 82. 217. 70. 509.

This gentleman further saith That by the Articles of Peace in Irland the
Catholiques are to continue y^r possession of the churches and ecclesiasticall
preferments they now haue untill his Ma^{ty}. shall declare his pleasure 231. 93. 161.
his Ma^{ty} s h all come t hither the Lord Lieut^t. ent shall
148. 350. 39. 48. 88. 107. 10. 58. 145. 490. before 243. 341. 349. 38. 49. 88. 82.
be p o s s e d of x Dublin and ful ly x m as t
98. 29. 26. 39. 37. 13. 38. 39. 10. 52. 207. 391. 300. 91. 130. 72. 85. 16. 93. 57.
e r of forces x in Ireland Cat h o l i q u e s
12. 53. 207. all the 319. 38. 84. 163. 333. 501 the 21. 92. 49. 24. 5. 30. 34. 42. 11.
s as his Ma^{ty} shall a r r i v e x x presse x
37. will (as soone 93. 148. 350. 39. 48. 88. 45. 55. 53. 33. 43. 13. 80) 216. 10. 76.
hlm ing x to ly x call x x
147. accord 164. 390. 237. the Articles present 182. 460. 237. 21. 88. 82. 45. 78.
parliam^t there d e c l a r e x y x s h con
377. 506. 56. 152. and to 50. 10. 21. 4. 89. 79. whither the 70. 77. 39. 48. all 106
tin u e the p o s s e s s i o n i f x O h n u
56. 163. 40. 11. 243. 28. 23. 37. 39. 12. 37. 38. 167. of the 31. 53. 78. 21. 49. 42.
r c h and e c l e s i a s t i c a s t i c a l b e n e
54. 20. 48. 13. 38. 491. 91. 13. 22. 20. 6. 11. 39. 33. 93. 58. 30. 22. all 98. 18. 12.
f l c e s if his Ma^{ty} re f u s e or x d e
7. 32. 20. 12. 37. &c: wch 161. 148. 350. shall 55. 10. 9. 251. 12. 208. 79. 52. 13.

APPENDIX.
1649.
18 April.
Relation
from Ireland.

c l in e x con d e s c end x un to the y x
20. 5. 163. 10. 82. to 106. 52. 11. 39. 22. 118. 504. 252. 237. then 243. 70. 80.
so s t r on g f ly out : x if
(being now 231. 39. 57. 53. 209. 66.) wilbe ready to 7. 182. 206. 511. But 161.
his Matr s h all x s t a y till
148. 350. 80. 37. 48. 88. 79. 38. 58. 47. 71. 249. The Lord Lieutenant shall haue
better set t l e d x and be a b so l u t e
101. 39. 11. 56. 58. 6. 12. 50. 391. his affaires 91. 98. 46. 1. 231. 4. 41. 57. 10.
ly x m t e r of all the forces and x x wch
182. 76. 15. as 57. 13. 53. 207. 88. 243. 319. 39. 77. there (498. 258. by the
may be this x s u m me r x n x the c at
blessing of God 189. 98. 244. 390. 38. 40. 14. 197. 54. 83) the 17. 82. 242. 20. at
h o l i q u e s x not x dare to s t l r r x
49. 24. 5. 32. 34. 42. 12. 37. 78. will 202. 56. 79. 116. 237. 37. 57. 38. 55. 53. 86.

The Popes Nuntio hath excommunicated all the Catholiques that haue agreed to
wch hath re nd red x that party x t here
the Peace in Irland 258. 49. 92. 48 53. 118. 54. 11. 50. 245. 217. 72. 84. 56. 152.
very un s t able x though of the x t w e n t y x c at
254. 252. 37. 58. 94. 85. and 248. 207. 243. 513. 58. 59. 10. 17. 56. 72. 84. 20. 92.
h o l i q u e s Bishops x x
48. 26. 6. 32. 35. 43. 10. 391. 284. 37. there were but 77. 431. foure w^{ch} were
yet the o t her t w e n t y
against the Peace 267. 243. 23. 57. 157. 58. 61. 13. 18. 57. 71. came in to it in
hope the x King would let the m x i r x c h u r c h
159. 243. 511. 337. 256. 178. 243. 14. 76. hold the 30. 53. 79. 22. 40. 54. 21. 48.
e s x x the Lord Lieutenant be s t r on g x x
10. 37. 77. And if (before 510. 243. 341. 349. 98. 78. 38. 58. 54. 209. 65. 79. 82.
e no u g h x o p o s e m s e t King
11. 202. 40. 64. 48. 391. to 23. 27. 29. 24. 37. 11. the 16. 477 (80 56. he 337
d e c l in e so much
being there) shall 50. 13. 22. 4. 163. 12. 510. to declare 231. 192. all or most of
t w e n t y Bishops x will joy ne
the other 56. 59. 12. 19. 57. 70. 284. 39. 499. 263. it is certainly beleaved 166 13.
x with the o the r fower who were against x it d a
501. 257. 243. 25. 243. 54. 131. 262. 265. 96. 39. 58. 76 162 and so be in 50. 45.
n g e r x to d r a w x all or
19. 65. 11. 55. 82. 237. 51. 53 46. 60. 79. 88. 208. the farr greatest part of the 22
a t h o l i q u e s x a f t e r the m x
92. 49. 23. 4. 31. 36. 40. 11. 37. 77. 45. 8 56 13. 54. 243. 14. 391 for its evident
t h o s e b l shops x the A s e m b ly x
that if 56. 49. 24. 37. 11. 284 39. 506 that were at 243. 93. 38. 11. 14. 2. 182. 82
had no t x l r x minds the c or p a ion
154 202. 58. 76. written the 33. 55. 78. 189. 38. to 243. 20. 208. 29. or 92. 167.
s to receiue and enu b r a c e x t peace it had not x x
39. 237. 387. 91. 11. 15. 3. 54. 44. 21. 10. 390. 57 he 213. 162. 154. 202. 58. 83.
p r o c l a m e d r e v e r e n
been there 27. 53. 25. 21. 5. 45. 31. 197. 52. So much 55. 13. 41. 12 53. 11. 17.
c e x la payd bishops in that kingdome
22. 10. 78. 160. 214. 52 to the said 284. 49 163. 245. 340. 82.

Owen Roes party, and divers other Catholique partys in Conaught and Vlster,
do still hold together in armes by (as they say) commission from the Popes
Nuncio, who 248. 202. 61. 46. 1. 233. 49. 92. 48. 79. 37. 249 an 163. 7. 4 40 11.
n c e some of the b i g o t x x x p a p la ta
17. 20. 10. on 228. 207. 243 1. 31. 66. 24. 59. 57. 76. 28. 26 27. 160. 57. 37 in
Ireland.

The Protestant party (w^{ch} consists most of English Presbyterians) were much

discontented, seeing all the power of the army in a manner in Catholique hands, the Marques of Clanrickard being then Lieut^t Generall thereof. Whereupon his Lopp undrstanding of it did voluntarily offer to resigne that his commission to the Lord Lieut^t of Irland, professing that it was the good of his Ma^{ty}s service and of the publique, w^{ch} he sought and desired, and no particular of his owne; and albeit the Lo: Lieut^t would not at first receive it, yet y^e Marq^s of Clanrickard still pressing it, and both he and the Lord Lieut^t conceiving that it might much advance his Ma^{ty}s services there by satisfying some factious and discontented persons in that army, his Ex^{ty} accepted it, and thereupon made the Lord Inchequine Lieutenant-gen^l of the army.

APPENDIX.
1649.
13 April.
Relation
from Ireland.

It is manifest there is a private confederacy or friendly understanding between Coll. Jones and Owen ONeile, Jones having supplied the other for his money with powder and ammunition, w^{ch} otherwise he could not possibly haue gotten, there being now neither port nor ship left remaining to his party; and Jones likewise permitts many thousands of ONeiles cowes and cattle to feed in his quarters, paying him a contribution, ONeile being not able otherwise to keepe them in any place safe from being taken by his Ma^{ty}s forces now under the command of the Lord Lieut^t, and ONeiles men would not be able to subsist for want of food, if they had not such an accomodation afforded them by Jones for feeding their cattle. But neither Col. Jones nor Owen ONeile dare be knowne to their partys that they haue any intelligence or confederacy at all with each other, for then their men would soon quitt them, as some haue lately done in considerable numbers. As an evidence of this confederacy between them there is now, and hath been for a good time, one Reely (the Vicar-generall of ONeiles army) residing at Dublin, where he is well used by Jones, who comitted a lady of some quallity to prison in Dublin for half a yeare for saying only that twas pittty that such a villain as Reely were not hanged; but doubtlesse he is permitted there as an agent to keepe up the private confederacy between Jones and ONeile.

There is also now at London one Abbot Creely (who was with the Marq^s of Antrim at Paris) treating with the Rebells in England, being as it is verily beleaved sent thither by Owen ONeile, not without the privity of Jones.

Prince Rupert is now residing with the body of his fleete at Kinsale, whither he hath brought in many rich prizes to the comfort of those parts, and from thence he continually sends forth to sea squadrons to secke more prize, and by his dilligence and industry there, advances his Ma^{ty}s services at sea upon all occasions. His Highnesse and the Lord Lieutenant haue had a meeting at Corke about his Ma^{ty}s affaires. The Lo: Lieut^t hath laid an excise in most of the great townes within his power, 97. 162. 160. 80. 202. 56. 267. 169. 18. 12. 78 what 11. 9. 7. 10. 20. 57. 86. 162. 263. 144. 479.

There are also taxes laid for a contribution towards maintenance of the army, but 77 202. 12. 390 217 162. 160. 93. 267. 490. 5. 13. 40. 31. 12. 52. 79 243 503 20. 23. 41. 19. 58. 54. 10. 98. 164. 254 504 27. 24. 208. 10.

APPENDIX.

1649.

13 April.

Relation
from Ireland.

Inniskelling, a strong castle in the north of Ireland, which was held by S^r W^m Cole for the Rebels in England, is taken by one Capt. Graham, a Scotsman, who hath there declared for the King.

The Scotts in the north of Irland, who were the reliques of S^r Rob. Stewards and Munrows forces in those parts, have regained some of their former holds from Col. Monke.

^x 76. ^c 21. ^o 24. ^p 6. ^d 4. ^y 80. ^T 56. ^r 55. ^a 45. ^f 9. ^{for} 123. ^d 50.
^a ^x ^r ^e ^l ^{at} ^{lon} ^x ^{con} ^c
 37. 77. 53. 13. 5. 92. 167. 391. 106. 22.
^e ^r ^{ning} ^{the} ^x ^a ^{ff} ^a ⁱ
 10. 54. 19. 164. 243. 511. 46. 9. 7. 44.
^r ^e ^x ^{of} ^{Ireland.}
 30. 53. 12. 39. 82. 207. 333. 481. 78.

IV. SIR PHELM O'NEILL TO THE MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

May it please your Excellencie,

1649.

April.

Phelim
O'Neill
to
Ormonde.

Haueing gotten notice of a most dangerous plott compassed by the bishopp of Clougher, on the fort of Charlemount: by corrupting the officers and soldiers in offering them large somes of monie, w^{ch} was brought to passe, had I stayed two dayes longer, by much adoe I did come saffe, the wayes were soe besett for me, and at my comeing, here was Owen O'Neill all his armie at Blacke-water, within a mile of this towne, for to bring the plott to passe: and the Lord Primatt sends an excommunication on the whole regiment and garrison, that noe priest should celebrat masse to them, nor one any part of all my lands formerly held, a purpose to waste the lands w^{ch} hithertoe since the warres did yeald some profit; but a woorse excommunication did follow my land and poore tenants; the armie, hereing of my comeing, a mutinie did rise amongst them, on w^{ch} the Maior gen^l. and cheefe officers marched away to my towne of Kinard, and camped there that night, preyed all the tenants that they could light on, and in spitt of me burned what was left unburned of my house by the Parlement, and did cutt all my treese and orchards about it. I did send out a good partie in the reare of them, w^{ch} brought me two captains and seuerall under officers and many soldiers, w^{ch} I released on parolle, after giveing them privatt instructions in his Majesties behalfe and your Excellencies. The next day the whole armie did scatter, and two of the best Collonells and regiments did fall away from them and sent to me, and soe will they all, if they see any head, or any man putt in a posture for the good of this Province and nation. All the gentrie of Tyrone and Ardmagh were here, and in your Excellencies name, I did protecte them, and all their Creatts: I hope they will be in time a good helpe towards the maintenance of the Armie.

My Lord your Excellencie getts noe true information concerning this Province; yow give such credit to one man of this Province, that is neere your Excellencie and in favour with you, that others are loath to intrude themselves to give a true



J. A. Burt. Lith

SIR PHELM O'NEILL.

FROM AN ENGRAVING IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

caracter of any mans deserts, meanes, and birth, and what they may or can doe in forwarding the Kings service. Owen ONeille is not in kindred nor fortunes himselfe, nor freinds so considerable a man as is given out of him, yett noe man goes the wayes as he goes, but may for a while gett men to follow him, and specialllye when noe man appeares against him.

Most of all the garrissons of the British of Ulster will declare for the King. I had this verie day a Scochts commander to know whether your Excellencie hath sent any directions by me to them or not, and they were all readie to asist my men, in case Owen ONeills armie would besiege this ffort. If your Excellencie give me the pouuoir to protect and offer reasonable conditions for officers and some asistance and helpe of meanes, I will quiet this province for any Irish partie that will oppose the government. My Lord, lett me tell your Excellencie in giveing Owen ONeille any such conditions as he expects, may breede more jalusie in the armie of the kingdome then is aware of, yeat I leave all to your Excellencies grave consideration to thinke of it what is best. As for my parte I will build my fortunes uppon your Excellencies favour to deale with me as you thinke best, for while I leewe I will ever goe your wayes, and will be faythfull to your Excellencie as any kinsman or servant you have in the world.

My Lord, I am your Excellencies
most humble servant,

Phe : O : Neill.

Endorsed : No Date. Rec. 17 Aprill, 1649. Concerning Generall Owen ONeile, etc.

APPENDIX.
1649.
April.
Sir Phelim
O'Neill
to
Ormonde.

V. COLONEL HUGH MAGUIRE TO ORMONDE.

My Lord,

I should longe hiertofore manifest unto your Lordship this my intended purpose but that I was hindred therof by the longe expectation I had of Generall Ncills agreement, with your lawfull pretentions in his Majesties behalfe, of whose finall determinations I am as yett ignorant. Nowe findinge a trustie missenger, to witt one Teige oge Mc Hugh, a captain of my regiment, and a prisoner to some of your Excellencies dependants, whoe beinge uppon his parole admitted to these partes; I thought fitt to declare, howe desyrous I am to adhere unto your Lordship hierafter, and shewe myselfe serious, in servinge most faithfully under your Lordships comaund. Most humblie desyringe that your Excellencie may be pleased to graunt me a pattent, to be a Collonell of the regiment over wich I was L^t. Collonell to Collonell Rury Maguier deceased, and nowe in my possision; as allsoe for my L^t. Collonell Hugh Roe Maguier, and Major Sheane oge Maguier, and that the said regim^t may be allwayes in the standinge forces of the kingdome; as allsoe a pattent for beinge a Governor of this countie of Fermanagh, together with your honourable favor and assistance, against all other my adversaries, as

1649.
April 18.
Hugh Maguire
to
Ormonde.

APPENDIX. the lawfullnes of my case shall require. Thus hopeinge your Lordship will be pleased
1649. to graunt this my lawfull request, shall ever remaine,

April 18.

Your Excellencies devoted servant,

Hugh Maguire
to
Ormonde.

April 18^o, 1649.

Hugh Maguire.

For his Excelency The Marquess of Ormond, Generall of his Majesties forces,
and Lord Lieutenant-generall of Ireland. These present.

Endorsed : Coll : Hugh Maguires. Date : 18 Apr. Rec : 8 May, 1649.

VI. DANIEL O'BRYEN TO ORMONDE.

My excellent Lord,

1649.
April, 24.
Daniel
O'Bryen
to
Ormonde.

I ame right sorry that your Excellencyes iourney through this county hath been soe unexpected, as that I could not have the opportunitie to wayte on you, yet now I presume to give your Excellency intelligence that the government of civill affayres, within this county of Clare, hath been by letters pattents conferred uppon the Earle of Thomond, exempted from the presidency of Munster and Connaght, which the late Supream Councell, takeing into their grave consideration, have been pleased to lay the charge uppon mee (in My Lords absence), with the assistance of Mr. Bartholomew Stackboll, and Thomas OMullreone Councells, whearin I have endeavoured as farre as I could to keepe the county in civility, and would now farther expose my selfe as occasion should offer in regard your Excellency hath the commaund, soe as you may be pleased I should be your servant therin, and the rather because I fynd by My Lord Presidents expressions, at his Lordships being in this county, his willingnesse I should enioy the place during My Lords absence, soe as your Excellency may be pleased to confirme the same.

Moreover, the heavy pressures sustained by the places adjacent to Clare Castle hath moved mee, out of the compassion I had of their sufferings, to acquainte the late assembly therewith, who pondering the indifferent expressions therin made, and destruction of the neighbouring inhabitants, have been pleased to order that the castle should be delivered into my hands, provyded that I should enter into £5000 recognizance for the secureing and delivery therof at commaund, all which I have donne, and yet the garizon contynued to the insupportable inconveniences of the said inhabitants, for whose sake I shall humbly entreat your Excellency (being to noe other end then the ease of the country, and furtherance of the generall service), whearin humbly craveing your Excellencyes favour in removeing that garison, I humbly take leave, and always remayne

Your Excellencyes

Most humble servant to commaund,

Daniell OBryen.

24 April, 1649. Ffor his Excellency Iames Lord Marquesse of Ormond, Lord Licutennant-generall and Generall-governour of Ireland : These present.

VII. LUCAS TAAFFE TO DONOGH O'CONNOR.

APPENDIX.

Sirs,

I must lett you know that I am comanded hether by My Lord Marques of Clanricard to prosecute you, and all such as oppose his Majesties authoritie, and understanding that your safe conduct is renewed by the comiss^{rs} of trust untill the 7th of the next moneth, during which time I must desist from acts of hostilitie, I desire and advise, as a kindsman and wellwissher, that you make good use of your said safe conduct, by your imediat repayre to Portumna, and submission to My Lord Marques of Clanricard, before the expiration of it, else I assure you that you, and all such as adheare unto you, will be proclaimed with drum and trumpett, by the odious name of traytors to his Majestie, with which title if you be once branded, no future act or meritt of yours can recover your reputation, nor allow me the freedome of subscribing my selfe

1649.
29. April.
Taaffe
to
O'Connor.

Your very assured cossen,

[Lucas] Taa[ffe].

29 April '49. For my better satisfaction I shall desire a view of your safe conduct as soone as can be at Roscoman.

For Capt. Donogh OConnor and Capt. Roger OConnor, or either of them.

A copie of my letter to D. O C. This letter was receaved by them three dayes agone.

VIII. LETTER FROM IRISH CATHOLIC CAMP.

EPISTOLA NOBILIS HIBERNI AD AMICUM BELGAM SCRIPTA EX CASTRIS
CATHOLICIS EIUSDEM REGNI, DIE 4 MAIJ, ANNO 1649.

Infandum, amice, jubes renouare dolorem. Nimirum describi tibi petis inuisam nutantis Hiberniæ nostræ tragœdiam. Susceptum est, vt nosti, famosissimum bellum nostrum, pro defensione, et restitutione religionis. Et quidem felices, stupendosque habuit successus, donec ad supremi regni regimen dolosè subrepserunt, et veluti se introseerunt nescio-qui legistæ qui dudum in Angliâ simul cum impiis institutis hæreseos hauserunt semina. Quibus accesserunt quidem Ormondistæ. Hi omnes egregia Machabæorum nostrorum facinora exhorrescebant, atque ad vetita, et ad iam tum excussa hæreticorum iuga redan helabant. Veriti ne fauore illorum exclusi pingua Ecclesiæ patrimonia, quæ eos hactenus in diuitiis et deliciis aluerant, et tandem ad extremam dementiam, ne dicam fastum, et arrogantiam euexerant, dimittere cogerentur. Oleum huic incendio addidit innatus erga Marchionem Ormondium amor et spes maiorum adipiscendorum iniecta. Videntes vero zelotissimos catholicos nostros recens ab hæretica tyrannide liberatos,

1649.
4. May.
Letter
from
Irish
Catholic
Camp.

vii. Carte Papers, vol. xxiv. p. 402.

viii. Ascribed to Rev. Paul King, of the Order of S. Francis, Guardian of S. Isidore's, Rome: Vindic. Catholic. Hiberniæ, authore Philopatro Irenæo, Paris: 1650, ii. 1, et seq.

APPENDIX.

1649.

4. May.

Letter
from
Irish
Catholic
Camp.

et tot clarissimis partis victoriis animatos, violenter, et continuo ad pristinam seruitutem reduci non posse, vrgentes quasdam necessitates confinxerunt, quibus quasi compulsi crebriora cum deuictis penè fidei hostibus inierunt armistitia, hocque modo rem nostram sensim eneruarunt, partem vero aduersam auxerunt, firmarunt. Interea cum suppetiis haud spernendis in Hiberniam venit Illustrissimus ac Reuerendissimus D. Io. Baptista Rinuccinus Archiepiscopus, et Princeps Firmanus cum authoritate Nuntij Apostolici à Rege item cum regia potestate missus D. Comes Glanmorganus, omnia ritè sancteque composituri. Accessit opportunissimè insignis et diuina prorsus illa victoria quam Excellentissimus D. Eugenius O Neillius catholico exercitui præfectus, Bembordiæ ab hæreticis, prostratis eorum quinque millibus, reportauit, qua infestissimæ illæ Scotorum copiae, quæ omnium iudicio insuperabiles habebantur, paratæque stabant, vt regnum nostrum inuaderent, religionem euerterent, et desolationis hæreticæ abominationem reducerent, adeo prorsus attritæ fuerunt, vt huc vsque vires recolligere non potuerint, spesque plurima data fuerit omnia pro voto successura. Sed ecce tibi post tot à cælo submissa auxilia, et consilia, iniquitatis isti operarij iniquissimam, et pudendissimam pacem, quam repetitis toties armorum iustitiis machinabantur, cum hæreticis tandem ineunt. Atque Ormondium infestissimum illum Catholici fœderis hostem et persecutorem, et hæreseos hæreticorumque assertorem pessimum ingenti cum pompa Kilkenniam reducunt. Offensi tanto scelere procures Ecclesiastici, protinus decreto facto pudendissimam illam pacem Regno, et rei Catholicæ esse perniciosissimam pronuntiarunt. Aduocatus proinde fidei patriæque defensor Excellentissimus Dominus Eugenius ô Neillius cum lectissimo milite Kilkenniam venit, fugatoque Ormonio vniuersa restituit, in vincula detrusis, qui pessima ista consilia consuerant. Ormondus tamen qui Comitem Glanmorganum Hiberniæ nostræ, auitæque religioni addictissimum specie amicitiae et compositionis ad se Dublinium euocatum penes se captium retinuerat, transfretationem earum legionum, quæ Regis et Catholicorum Anglorum subsidio destinatæ erant, impediuit : urbem et arcem Dublinensem cum omnibus alijs quibus præerat locis munitis, Parlamentariis truculentissimis Regis, et religionis nostræ hostibus auro vendidit, adeoque indignissimo regicidio et Hiberniæ excidio viam strauit. At vero idem Ormonius, solito fraudulentiae tramiti insistens Parisios se contulit, vbi eum conuenerunt Vice Comes Muskrius et Zephyrinus Broune digna sane patellæ opercula; qui eiusdem D. Eugenij ô Neillij intercessione è vinculis dimissi mirâ astutia mandatum à Comitibus impetrarunt, eoque abusi contra fidem publicam negotium pro sensu suo falsis coloribus depictum Reginæ Angliæ ita proposuerunt, vt omnia pro Ormonii reductione disposuerint; quod tamen in Hiberniam reuersi cautè et catè dissimularunt. Non tamen latuerunt Herodiana hæc conuenticula D. Doctorem Tirellium, qui tum Parisiis in Hibernorum collegio præsidem agebat, et alios nonnullos integræ, sanctæque fidei viros qui datis ad Illustrissimum D. Nuncium Apostolicum, ad Archiepiscopum Dublinensem, et ad plures alios literis fabulam totam detexerunt. Vssit hoc summopere istos Consiliarios: vt tamen porro latere possent, editis in publicum programmatibus, persuadere popello conati sunt, hanc dignissimorum, doctissimorumque virorum relationem esse meram calumniam; et se nihil minùs cogitare, quam vt Ormonius reducatur, et execranda

ista pax de qua iam supra, admittatur. Sed ô argutos homines! nonne vniuersus iam orbis videt mentitos eos esse in caput suum, et contestationes eorum esse periuria? numquid sacrilegum Ormondium in insulam sanctorum introduxerunt? numquid lupum rapacem in Christi caulam intruserunt? numquid corpori catholico caput hæreticum imposuerunt? numquid excellentissimum ô Neillium patriæ assertorem certissimum excluserunt? numquid Nuntium Apostolicum iustitiæ zelatorem acerrimum eiecerunt? Sed ad instituti mei filum regredior. Callidi isti dissimulatores de Ormonij reductione nimisquam solliciti et qui rem perficerent alium modum non reperientes, statuunt conciliandum esse armistitium cum Barone Inchiquyno, homine admodum cruento, qui paulo ante patriam incendiis deuastauerat, multos è Clero trucidauerat, et sacra quælibet prophanauerat, Consiliariis illis rem totam vel dissimulantibus, vel, quod fortè verius, desiderantibus et procurantibus. Nam cum excellentissimus D. Eugenius ô Neillius in publicis Comitibus facultatem sibi dari peteret inuadendi ditones istius prædonis, eiusque rabiem coercendi, adderetque aliam laboris sui se nolle mercedem, quam quod hosti iure belli erepturus esset, et totum propemodum Concilium petitis annueret; Muskrius subintulit speciosum quidem esse quod ô Neillius peteret, latere tamen nonnihil, ideoque rem à delegatis examinari debere. Hi vero delegati, quia omnes erant factionis Ormondicæ, iustissimam ô Neillij petitionem reiecerunt, et Inchiquynum ea quæ recensui scelera impune patrare permiserunt. Illustrissimus Nuntius Apostolicus obstinatum hominum istorum malitiam videns Ecclesiasticos Proceres conuocauit, reque maturè discussa, Hiberniæ Primas, Archiepiscopi tres, Episcopi decem (nemine prorsus discrepante) vnanimi consensu pronuntiarunt armistitium istud tum esse periculi plenum, tum in perniciem regni, et vtriusque status ecclesiastici, et politici vergere. Quod pronunciatum adeo quinque ex isto Conciliariorum cœtu perculit; Episcopos scilicet duos Clogherensem, et Limericensem, Proceresque tres Henricum ô Neillium, Zephyrinum Baron, et Terentium Obuill, vt à reliquorum septem consortio protinus recesserint. Illustrissimus igitur Nuntius Apostolicus simul cum delegatis, et subdelegatis à congregatione Ecclesiasticorum eum in finem selectis; illud quod nosti excommunicationis fulmen vibrauit, et sacrorum interdictum ex autoritate Pontificiâ indixit. Paruere mandato Apostolico præter Archiepiscopos, et Episcopos, Patres Capucini omnes, Dominicani præter unum, et alterum refractarium, Omnes Benedictini et Bernardini, Augustiniani, si duos excipias, vniuersi, Patres Societatis, Carmelitani, et Franciscani omnes præter nonnullos malè feriatos, qui cum sui similibus in publicum prorumpentes censuras Ecclesiasticas spernere, et à dobitâ obedientia subducere suadebant, non sine ingenti malignantium applausu, et bonorum omnium scandalo, nequitiamque suam, additis ex Caluini, Lutherique prostibulo depromptis conuitiis adauxerunt. Atenim deliriis hisce immorari nolo, quæ suo tempore sufficienter patebunt in refutatione infamis istius libelli, cui titulus QUERES, qui in arce Caterlagh infeliciter primùm conceptus, infelicissime tandem in vrbe Kilkennia à præfatis ordinum suorum immorigeris Apostatis in lucem editus fuit. Nec est quod de euis vel impressione vel autoritate multùm cures; nam vt bene doctissimus P. Poncius Franciscanus animaduertit, omnes eius tum authores, tum adprobatores simul in vnam massam redacti, si mores et cruditionem spectes, ne unum quidem votum

APPENDIX.

1649.

4. May.

Letter
from
Irish
Catholic
Camp.

APPENDIX.

1649.

4. May.

Letter
from
Irish
Catholic
Camp.

sufficiens conficerent. Nosti quales sint Talboti, Nasbij, etc. Medensis ille nunquam non se bello et libertati Catholicæ opposuit, et sæpius ne suspensionis sententiam audiret, periculum subiit. Ossoriensis iam delirio est proximus, vt pote qui senio grauatus repuerascit. Illi vero approbatores qui nonnihil authoritatis habere videntur, libello isti, non qualem iam typis mandatum vides, subscripserunt, vt ipsemet ab ipsismet audiui. At vero reliqui septem consiliarij tot atque istiusmodi Sinonibus stipati, maioraque conati, ad turpiora manus impias protendunt, vtramque authoritatem sibi assumentes, iuramento omnes inflictam excommunicationis sententiam, aliamue similem nec recipere, nec recipere velle adstringunt, Synodum Nationalem authoritate Apostolica indictam, (quæ dubio procul ritè, et rectè omnia composuisset) impediunt; quod sibi suisque debitam, dignamque animaduersionem imminere timerent. Edicto publico patrociniū Ecclesiasticis sibi adhæsuris addicunt: omnibusque Archiepiscopis, Episcopis et reliquis Prælatibus atque Superioribus ne corripere aut inceptationem vocare audeant, suos sectarios indicunt. Affixis schedulis commendant Prouincialibus Franciscanorum, Dominicanorum, etc. ne Congregationes aut capitula celebrent: hoc modo Religiosis refractariis, qui eis adhærebant, patrociniū statuerunt. Sæpius è conuentibus suis eijci iusserunt Dominicanos et Capucinos. Quinque vt minimum ministros publicos miserunt qui Franciscanos superioribus suis morem gerentes è Conuentu Kilkenniensi exturbarent, et in eorum locum Apostatas istos inducerent. At, quæ Deo debetur gratia, vix vnum e tot iniquis iussis pro voto eis successit. Arctissimis vinculis incluserunt viros Ecclesiasticos, atque inter alios Prouincialem Franciscanorum, Decanum Firmanum, Guardianum Kilkenniensem, multosque alios viros Religiosos, legistis istis, qui ne micam Canonum gustarunt, vociferantibus, non valere immunitatem Ecclesiasticam in dominio Regis Angliæ. Iuramenti formulam conceperunt, quod cum suis appendicibus, non immerito quis peius vocare possit illo Henrici octauī de primatu. Et ne immorer multis, vide quæ de istis scripsit piissimus Poncius, quem aduersarii primū ad cælos vsque laudibus extollebant, quod sperarent eum ad partes ipsorum concessurum; dum vero spe suâ se excidisse vident, nigro carbone immortalem eius famam atque existimationem notare satagunt. Eodem modo diuersa et sibi ipsis repugnantia statuerunt de Archi-præsule Dubliniensi, viro verè religiosissimo, doctissimo, nobilissimo, de Episcopis Cluanfertensi, Rossensi, Clonmacnoisensi, Corcagiensi, et alijs. Vno verbo vt dicam improprijs, imposturis et calumnijs onerant omnes eos, qui nefandæ ipsorum molitioni se opponunt; præcipue vero primarios Regni et religionis instauratores et conseruatores Illustrissimum D. Ioan. Baptist. Rinuccinum Archiepiscopum et Principem Firmanum, Nuntium Apostolicum extraordinarium, et Excellentissimum D. Eugenium ô Neillium exercitus Catholici Archistrategum: Cum istum tamen tanto plausu, tantaque adgratulatione exceperint, imo et virum eum optimum tanto muneri summe idoneum, et labanti Hiberniæ vel maxime necessarium iudicauerint; adeo vt et qui inter eos sunt primarij, ad summum Pontificem scripserint, nisi sua Sanctitas diuino instinctu mota virum hunc sibi destinasset, de fide Catholica, et Ecclesiasticis institutis actum fuisse: hunc vero Regnum bis ab interitu vindicasse palam fassi fuerint. Nec vero cures commentum nescio cuius tenebrionis qui per Gallias spargere non est veritus

bellum nostrum, non geri pro religionis causa: sed esse tantum civilem concertationem inter eos qui vel à Gallis, vel ab Hispanis originem ducant. Nam et hic confingunt Nuntium Apostolicum nullum aliud habuisse consilium, quam ut Hibernia extraneum quem Principem obtruderet, quem alij diuinant, vel potius somniant futurum fuisse ipsum summum Pontificem; alij Regem Catholicum, alij Archiducem Leopoldum, alij magnum Ducem Etruriæ, alij denique Lotharingum. Ut ut sit nos nolle habere Regem hæreticum, qui non admitteremus Proregem hæreticum. At vero ipsa tandem veritas conspicua fiet. Ipsemet D. Nuntius Apostolicus, et ô Neillius sapius quàm publicè, quàm priuatim contestati sunt nolle se præiudicium aliquod inferre Maiestati Regiæ, sed tantum consulere rei Catholicæ iuxta iuramentum Confœderatorum. Et quamvis facta verbis ipsorum respondeant, haud tamen fides eis adhibetur. Cum isti interim fidem haberi velint nescio quibus somniorum deliriis, quæ Ormondium aliquando futurum Catholicum adpromittunt. Sed candidior est ipse Ormonius quàm ut talem de se opinionem concipi voluerit, ut ergo omne dubium remoueret, non prius pedem Hiberniæ intulit, quin conceptis verbis iurauerit, et iuramentum istud typis publice mandari iusserit, se omni modo, totisque viribus Protestantium religionem promoturum, et quotquot hactenus, ei se opposuerint, pro virili persecuturum. Addidit ideo se hæc publice significare, ne cui de mente sua possit esse dubium; quin ut reipsa mentem suam explicaret, ipso aduentus sui Kilkenniam die, centum præsidiarios Calvinistas, amotis inde Catholicis, arcis eius loci imposuit. Porro nobiles illi Consiliarij ne iuramento ante præstito constringerentur, cum suis sequacibus in publicis Comitibus contestati sunt, se nec esse, nec velle aut debere posthac vocari Confœderatos Catholicos, et Regni clauum Catholici nominis euersori tradiderunt. En quam turpi fine egregia principia clauserint prauis isti Consiliarij. At hisce tu terreri noli: Plures à nobis quam ab illis stant. Duce ô Neillio præter præsidia, exercitum habemus virorum decies millium, quibus omnibus firmissima stat sententia aut mori aut fidem Catholicam vindicare. Auxilium et subsidium speramus præcipue à Deo, cuius hæc est causa, tum et à Principibus Catholicis, quibus candor, integritas, et sinceritas nostra, aduersariorum vero nostrorum nequitia et perfidia breui innotescet.

D. Richardus Butler, Ormondij consobrinus, qui pro D. ô Neillio Kilkenniam agebat, ad meliorem vitam transijt.

Ampliora suo tempore et tabellario magis fido exarabo. Hæc tibi modo sufficere poterunt.

I. D. T.

Seruus

D. D. D.

Cum autoritate Superiorum.

APPENDIX.
1649.
4. May.
Letter
from
Irish
Catholic
Camp.

APPENDIX.

1649.

8. May.

IX. ARTICLES BETWEEN GENERAL OWEN O'NEILL
AND COLONEL GEORGE MONK.

Articles condescended unto, and agreed upon, by and between General Owen O'Neal, Commander in Chief of the confederate Catholiques, and Colonel George Monk, Commander in Chief of the Parliament Forces, within the Province of Vlster. Dated 8 May, 1649.

Articles
between
Owen O'Neill
and
Colonel Monk.

I. It is agreed that there be a cessation of arms, and of all acts of hostility, between the forces and parties commanded by, and adhering to General Owen O'Neal, as well in Vlster as in the rest of the provinces of the kingdom, and the forces or parties under Colonel George Monk his command, for three moneths after the date hereof; Provided that in the said time, there be not any agreement made with the Marquess of Ormond, the Lord of Inchiquien, or any their adherents, or with any who are enemies to the Parliament of England.

II. That upon all occasions during the said time, both parties be ready with their forces to assist one another, until a more absolute agreement be made and condescended unto by the Parliament of England.

III. It is agreed between the said parties, that the Creaghts of Vlster, residing within the quarters of Colonel Monk, pay contribution to General Owen O'Neal; And that it may be likewise lawful for the said Colonel Monk to receive contribution from such Creaghts of Vlster, as well those who have not as yet paid him contribution, as those that do; and in case any of them refuse so to do, it shall be lawful for Colonel Monk to compel them thereunto, excepting those who belong to the county of Cavan.

IV. It is also agreed, that if General Owen O'Neal shall happen to fight against the forces under the command of the Marquess of Ormond, the Lord Inchiqueen, or any other enemies to the Parliament of England, and thereby spend his ammunition, if he be near unto my quarters, and be distressed for want of ammunition, I shall then furnish him.

V. It is agreed between the said parties, And the said Colonel Monk doth in the behalf of himself and his party faithfully promise and undertake, that free leaue and liberty shall be given to any ship or ships, that may arrive at any harbor, or port-town, within the said Colonel Monks liberty, during the time of our agreement, with any silver, gold, provision, arms, ammunition, or any other commodities, to the use of the said General, or his forces: And that the said General O'Neal, or

ix. The true state of the Transactions of Colonel George Monk with Owen-Roe-Mac-Art-O-Neal; As it was reported to the Parliament by the Council of State, together with the votes and resolutions of the Parliament thereupon. Ordered that it be referred to the Council of State, to give directions for printing the Report from the Council of State, and so much of the letters and proceedings as concern this business, and the votes of the House thereupon. Hen: Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti.

London, Printed for Edward Husband, Printer to the Parliament of England, August 15, 1649.

such as shall be by him authorized hereunto, shall be admitted to fetch away the same with security and safety; and that no interruption or impediment be given to the said shipping, to depart without any prejudice, at their will and pleasure.

APPENDIX.

1649.

8. May.

Articles
between
Owen O'Neill
and Monk.

The propositions of General Owen O'Neal, the lords, gentry and commons of the Confederate Catholiques of Vlster, to the most High and most Honorable, the Parliament of England.

I. Imprimis, that such as are already joyned, or shall within the space of three moneths, joyn with General Owen O'Neal, in the service of the Parliament of England in this Kingdom, as well clergy as others, may have all laws and penalties against their religion and its professors, taken off by Act of Parliament, and that Act to extend to the said parties, their heirs and successors for ever, while they loyally serve the Parliament of England.

Owen O'Neill's
propositions
to English
Parliament.

II. The said General O'Neal desireth an act of oblivion to be passed, to extend to all and euery of his party, for all things done since the beginning of the year 1641.

III. They desire that General Owen O'Neal be provided with a competent command in the army, befitting his worth and quality.

IV. They desire that they may enjoy all the lands that were, or ought to be in their or their ancestors possession.

V. That all incapacity, inability and distrust hitherto, by Act of State or otherwise, against the said party, be taken off.

VI. That on both sides all jealousies, hate and aversion, be laid aside; unity, love and amity, be renewed and practised between both parties.

VII. That General Owen O'Neal may be restored and put in possession of his successors estates, or some estates equivalent to it, in the counties of Tyrone, Ardmach, or London-derv, in reward of his merit, and the good service that he shall perform in the Parliament of Englands service, in the preservation of their interest in this kingdom.

VIII. That the army belonging to General Owen O'Neal and his party, be provided for, in all points as the rest of the army shall be.

IX. That the said party be provided with, and possessed of, a convenient sea-port in the province of Vlster.

I do, upon receiving a confirmation of these propositions, forthwith undertake and promise in behalf of my self, and the whole party under my command, faithfully and firmly to adhere to the service of the Parliament of England in this kingdom, and maintain their interest hereafter, with the hazard of our lives and fortunes, against all opposers whatsoever.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto put my hand and seal, this 8 day of May, Anno Dom. 1649.

Signed : Owen O'Neal.

APPENDIX.

X. MONK'S REASONS FOR CESSATION WITH O'NEILL.

1649.
May.

The reasons inducing Colonel Monk to make a cessation with Owen Roe O'Neal for three moneths, which is now expired, were as followeth :

Monk's reasons
for Cessation
with
Owen O'Neill.

1. That about April last, the Scots under his command having relinquished their obedience to the Parliament, and denied to obey any command from him, upon refusing to joyn with them in a declaration against the Parliament and army, he desired assistance from Colonel Jones to reduce them to obedience: But Colonel Jones finding by good intelligence, that the Lord of Ormond had made a peace with all the Irish, except Owen Roe O'Neal; That he had set up the Princes Interest, and upon that score was raising all the force he could make to distress Colonel Jones in his quarters, thought it not safe, as to the Parliament's Interest in Leinster, to spare any assistance to Colonel Monk.

2. That Colonel Monk being upon this necessitated to retire to his garison of Dundalk, found Owen Roe O'Neal quartered with his forces, being six thousand foot, and about seven hundred horse, in the counties of Cavan and Monahan, within twenty or thirty miles march of his garrison; and also received good intelligence, that the Lord of Ormond at that time used all possible means to draw Owen Roe to his party, offering him any conditions to induce to it.

3. That Colonel Monk, finding himself thus invironed with the Scots on the one hand, with whom he understood the Lord of Ormond kept intelligence at that time, and with Owen Roe on the other; and finding how dangerous it would in all probability be, not onely to himself, but also to Colonel Jones, and so consequently to all the Parliaments Interest in Ireland, to have Owen Roe and the Scots thus upon the sudden, and before any forces could be expected to arrive out of England, either to Colonel Jones, or his own relief, united with the Lord of Ormond.

4. Finding that if he could keep the Lord of Ormond and Owen Roe at distance, until supplies arrived, he should not onely deprive the Lord of Ormond of that accession of strength, which Owen Roe's forces would have added unto him, but also render the Scots in Vlster, and the Earl of Clanrickard with his Connaght forces (all which being joyned together, would have made twelve thousand horse and foot) useless to the Lord of Ormond, as to any assistance he could expect from them to joyn with him against Colonel Jones, Owen Roe lying so with his forces, as that he might within two or three days march, have fallen either into the Scots quarters, or Clanrickards quarters, if they had not kept their forces to attend his motions.

5. Finding also that Owen Roe, in regard of his own safety, would accept the large offers made him by the Earl of Ormond, if he had not been speedily prevented; Colonel Monk well weighing all the dangers and advantages as aforesaid, that might in all probability insue thereupon; and likewise what hazard it might have been to retard a conclusion with Owen Roe (whom he found impatient of all delays), until he might receive directions either from the Council of State, or the Parliament, for his farther proceeding therein, thought it most agreeable to the discharge of his trust, and the safety of the Parliament's Interest in that kingdom, rather to cast himself upon the Parliaments favorable interpretation,

x. True state of the Transactions, etc. *Ante*, p. 216.

and to conclude a cessation with Owen Roe for three moneths, then by any further delay, to lose the advantages aforesaid; the fruits whereof have in some measure answered his expectation, and prevented the Earl of Ormond all this while from a strict besieging of Dublin, and so consequently of taking it, for want of a competent number of foot to lie down before it, which he could not have done, without the addition of the Scots and Connaght forces as aforesaid; and in the mean time necessitated him to spend his time in taking of the out-garrisons, which if Dublin had been taken, he knew would have speedily fallen into his hands. The truth of all which, and of the advantages gained by his proceedings, he submits to the further testimony of those that Command in Chief for the Parliament upon the place.

APPENDIX.
1649.
8. May.
Monk's
reasons for
Cessation with
O'Neill.

XI. SCOTTISH OFFICERS IN ULSTER TO MONK.

Honorable Sir,

We are very well satisfied in our own consciences, and are confident all, except the parties against whom we do declare, will be so, that we have discharged our duties in relation to you, and that we have with a great deal of honesty and fidelity, declared ourselves for the Parliament of England, and onely against those who have illegally usurped their power, for whose service we are confident the arms, ammunition and clothes sent to the army, were never ordained; nor can we see how you discharge your trust to the Parliament, when you detain those provisions sent by them to us, who are still willing cordially to prosecute those ends to which we were engaged, when you got your commission, and to follow the commands of that lawful power which did give it you. Thus far we are free, because we cannot lie under the accusation of that crime, whereof others are guilty, etc.

Major Rawden will give you an accompt of our answers to your desires, which we are confident will witness our respects to you, and we do earnestly desire that you may be as careful in preserving a good correspondency and neighbor-hood, as

Your affectionate humble servants,

Belfast, the 9. of May, 1649.

Signed:

| | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| Montgomery. | John Edmonstone. |
| Uti Knox. | William Hamilton. |
| George Kieth. | James Clotworthy. |
| James Shaw. | Fergus Kennedy. |
| Ed: Ellis. | |

XII. PHELM O'NEILL TO THE EARL OF CASTLEHAVEN.

My Lord,

I perused y^r Lordships lettre, and as for y^e contents of it, doubtlesse this fforte is as triue for his Majesties use and service, as any place, as for deliveringe of it unto you, I will not doe it excepte it be against my will, for Generall Owen O'Neill trusted this place unto me (who as I am sure is as triue and loyall a

1649.
13. May.
Sir Phelim
O'Neill
to
Castlehaven.

xi. True state of the Transactions, etc. *Ante*, p. 216.

xii. Carte Papers, vol. xxiv. p. 423.

APPENDIX.

1649.

13. May.

Sir Phelim
ONeill to Earl
of Castlehaven.

subiecte to his Majesty as any person in Ireland), and soe untill I see his orders I will not yeeld, nor deliver the towne to any body as longe as I can; as for burninge of the houses I did rather burne them my selfe, then that they should be burnth bey your party; I am confidante that I will be releevd by those, who will not lett you put us in such cause as to aske quarter,

Your Lordships servant,

Phellem O'Neill.

From the fforte of Leix, this 13. of May, 1649.

For the Right Honorable Lord Generall Castlehaven: These.

13. May. Answer to the Lord Castlehaven's summons, by Phelim O'Neill, etc.

XIII. ORMONDE TO FATHER LUKE WADDING, AT ROME.

Sir,

1649.

20. May.

Ormonde
to
Father Luke
Wadding.

Although I profess not the same religion to yours, yett I conceive our affections to his Majesties service, and the bond of alegiance upon us tow is the same, which makes me putt you to trobell of reading the request I make unto, which is, that you would imploy the power you have in the Court of Rome, to support and countenance thoos friers of your order, who have labord to settell this kingdom under his Majesties obedience, and have been hetherto persecuted by thoos placed in authority over them, in a provinciall chapter, wheer all things weer ordered, as pleasd the Nuntio, who hath (so far as in him lay) doun iniury and dishonor to his master, by fomenting devisions in the nation, and endeavoring again to imbroyle this kingdome, miserably wasted by a seaven years warr, in perpetuall distraction. Heer arrived lately one Father Caronn, a man I conceive of good affections to his Majesties service; zealous of the good of his Order, and authorishd from the superior thereof to reforme some abuses in particular persons, who have endeavord to disquiet this kingdome. I shall entreat you that thoos who come with such intentions may be cowntenanced theer, and noe beleif given to any that shall calumniat this mans proceedings, which, like enough, may be traduced from henc, by persons that cannot sitt downe with loyall thooughts towards his Majestie, and above all I shall entreat you, that the time prefixt for a provinciall chapter heer, may be anticipated to the end, discreet men such as have good affections for his Majestie, and are not in love with rapine and confusion may be chosen to govern in the Order, which if I may obtaine yow may be assured that while his Majesty is pleasd to continue me in the government of this kingdome, I shall cherishe them, and such as they shall find in the Order of the same affections with them. I have noe more to add, but to lett you know that, for the good report I have heard of your desires, to have this kingdome settled under his Majesties obedience, I shalbe reddey in what may concerne your particulare to exspense my self

Your aft.

20 May, 1649. A copy of My Lords letter, to Fr. Luke Wadding.

XIV. MONK TO OLIVER CROMWELL.

APPENDIX.

Right Honorable,

Since I received advertisement of your resolution of coming into this kingdom, I have very much rejoyced, and withal do assure you, that have no servant in the world more glad of it then myself; I am infinitely obliged to you for your many favors, for which I return you hearty thanks. I do account it a principal part of my duty, to give you account of affairs here in this service: I have, since the Scots deserting me (although they are unwilling to own it) notwithstanding their actions do fully manifest it, used my utmost endeavors to reserve the interest of England in the North, and to keep some footing there. I haue taken care to provide the garrison of Lisnegarvy with two moneths provision of corn, which is kept there safe, if any rupture happen between, which is likely to be, since their ends are clear opposite: As also I haue well furnished with victual the garrison of Derry, the onely pass into the North, and Green Castle, Carlingford, Dundalk and Colerane, if my forces should advance to besiege either of them. And being in a very ill condition with these garrisons between the Scots and Irish, Owen Mac Art's army, I haue adventured, by the advice of some special friends and wellwishers to this service, to treat with Owen Mac Art, to keep him from joyning with Ormond, which if he had done, Colonel Jones and I had been in a very great hazard of losing the Parliament's footing in this kingdom; whereupon, finding Colonel Jones in such a condition, that he could not relieve me, it made me the more confident to adventure upon a cessation of arms between Owen Mac Art's party and mine, he engaging himself to oppose Ormond, which he doth really intend to do, and hath already by his endeavors manifested his willingness to ruine Ormond, for a greater feud cannot possibly be between them then there is now: wherefore upon this score I have treated with him, and according to his desire, sent you the copy of the propositions made by him, to the Parliament, which are wonderful high, but I believe will descend much lower: I have sent you likewise a copy of the agreement for the three moneths cessation between Owen Mac Art and I. I do not think it fit to signifie this to the Councel of State, but do wholly refer the business to you, either to make further use of it, or else to move it, or as you conceive most fit to be done, since there was great necessity for me to do it, I hope it will beget no ill construction, when the advantage gained to the service, by dividing Ormond and Mac Art, is fully weighed.

By this business I have very much quieted the Scots, who were upon so high terms, that nothing would satisfie them, but that I must deliver up the provisions, arms and ammunition to them which I had in my stores, as you may perceive by the copies of their letters at their meetings; but now they do not stir, either to send forces to joyn with those against Derry, or to advance towards me: wherefore being driven to this great streight, I shall desire that it may not receive any ill censure, but that it may be thoroughly considered.

I doubt I haue already trespassed too much upon your time, and do therefore

1649.
25. May.
Monk
to Oliver
Cromwell.

APPENDIX.
1649.
25. May.
Monk to
Oliver
Cromwell.

crave pardon for this boldness, and humbly beseech you to continue your good opinion towards me, and esteem me, as I am

Your faithful and most humble servant,

Dundalk, this 25 of May, 1649.

George Monk.

Ormond within this three days hath taken a garrison of Owen Mac Arts, and put most of the men to the sword, the place called Mary-Burrow, and he hath sent Preston to lye before Athy, another of Owen Mac Arts garrisons.

XV. LETTER TO COLONEL MICHAEL JONES ON MOVEMENTS IN IRELAND.

Sr,

1649.
3. July.
Movements
in Ireland.

Heere was one wth me that came from the campe on Sondag last, and tell's me for certaine that Clanrickard was expected there wth in two daies wth 3000 horse and foote; hee alsoe stood by and heard Ormond reade a lettre, that came from Inchequin from Tredath, desireing some fresh horse and one great peece, w^{ch} weare sent him, and doubted not but to give him a verie good accompt of the towne in a few daies. Hee saieth that S^r Ri. Barnewall, and S^r Lu. Dillon weare at the campe, imploy'd from Owen Roe, and that they are agreed, and that hee will Ioyne wth Ormond after the tyme of his engadgm^t to Munke is expir'd, w^{ch} he said was spoken there, to be the 26th of this instant; hee saith that it was the common talke in the campe that Kedoogan went out wth 80 horse, and that most of them weare taken, and cutt of, and that hee escaped narrowly wth 5 or 6 horse to Trym. Hee saith that they layed an ambush neere Bally Sannon, and sent some men in woemens apparell towards the castle, they wth in perceaveing them sent out a partie to take them, whereupon they did run towards the ambush, they kil'd some of our men, and tooke 25. There is great plentie of all sorts of provision at their camp, but scarsitie of provisions until Saterdag last, and then there came to them (hee saith 9 horsload of money w^{ch} hee sawe. There is a garrison at Lucan, and an other at Luttrells towne, purposely to secure the comeing to and fro of provisions to the campe, w^{ch} comes daily in great abundance; they have made all the strength at sea that they could possibly, and have set them out to prevent the comeing of shiping to Dublin. Hee saith they are resolv'd suddainely to drawe neerer to Dublin, making noe question of haueing Tredath, wth in 2 or 3 daies. S^r Tho. Esmond and Bagnall have taken away all the cattle that was about Arkloe, and alsoe taken all the cattle that was in the Glynns, that belong'd to Bryan M^c Felym his partie; and on Sondag last, lay'd seige to Arkloe. You may guess how inconsistent this is wth that newes of agreeing wth Owen Roe for certainly Hugh Mc Felym his partie is of Owen Roes service. Jugling there is among them, w^{ch} I cannot unriddle. The gentlemen of these parts are all sommoned to meete at Castleknock on Thirsday next, about what I know not. I belecue, but few of them will goe thither. Ormond was heard to say, that hee wished there had come 5000 men to you out of England. Geo. Lane tould my intelligencer, that there

was a trumpiter went from you to Ormond, w^{ch} made him very passionate, and that he bid the trumpeter tell yow, that you was a cropeare knave, and that hee would be wth you suddainely. It is reported wth them that you giue out that you will burn Dublin, and blow up the castle before hee shall haue it. The Lieutenn^t heere earnestly desires 4 fyer lockes. This is all at present, soe I rest
Yo^r servant,

APPENDIX.
1649.
3. July.
Movements
in Ireland.

Bullock, 3 July, 1649.

[Blank.]

The boate goes to-morrow wth all the fish that can be had, and they are directed first to goe to yo^r cooke, that hee may choose such as hee likes.

To the Hon^{ble} Collonell Iones, these be delivered: Dublin.

Seal—on a fess dancetteé 3 fleurs de lis

XVI. INTELLIGENCE OF CROMWELL'S EMBARKATION FOR IRELAND.

Sr,

The Lif^{nt}-gen^l went forth of towne Wednesday last towards Winsor, and from thence intends towards Bristall, and I am inclinable to beleeeve that hee intends to carry with him 5000 foote and 2000 horse, and hee hopes to land them in an island hard by Corke, when hee can refreshe them, draue them up in order, and march out of the island into the maine at low water, and thereby bee even with Ormond and Inchequine, they beinge busie aboute Dublin and those partes.

1649.
14. July.
Intelligence
of Cromwell's
Embarkation.

Hee hath drawn towards the West 7 regimen^t of foote, w^{ch} hee intends to carry with him from thence, viz^t. his owne regimen^t, Jextons who is gone with him, Coll. Cookes, Coll. Ferris, Coll. Stubres, Coll. Hustons, and Coll. Owens.

Hee alsoe carrieth with him 4 regimen^t of horse, viz^t. his owne w^{ch} consisteth of 12 troopes, Coll. Hortons and Jextons, and one more that I doe not remember.

Hee carrieth with him, and there wilbee sent suddainely after him, upwardes of ffourescore thousand pownds in ready money, w^{ch} on my word is in readines for manie for feare, and manie who weere ingaged, for love have lent large somes to set him forward. I find that hee hath some friends in Monster, and more hee hopes to make with his money, w^{ch} may worke much when it is knowne hee hath it, amongst needie men.

I finde that Leiftennant Collonell Piggott, who as I formerly wrote unto you was gone into Munster, to sooe his tares, hath now sent for his wiffe, who is gone unto him, and in bringeing her over hee thinkes to doe his busines better, it will take away all suspicion. Yt is hoped that hee may doe good service.

The thinge w^{ch} troubles them most is that 20 of the shipes, that are to goe from hence to Meniard, Milford, and Bristoll, to take in these men, and in some of them the whole ordinance and amunition, but onely what is carried by land, w^{ch} is not much, are not gone from hence.

I find alsoe when I doe consider, that under 100 vessells these horse and foote cannot bee carried over; but all these thinges may bee done in three weekes or a

APPENDIX.
1649.
14. July.
Intelligence
of Cromwell's
embarkation.

moneth, and duringe this time it is hoped that Ormond and Inchoquine may bee kept busie in Leinster, and happily they may not gett notice of this untill it bee done, and then it will bee too late to prevent the designe, I assure you if this bee done, and that they can get these portes of Monster, the rest of the kingdome will soone bee recoveed, this is of a greate concernm^t, and trully verie few doe know of it.

I doe find, notwithstandinge this fixt resolucion, that if by the intendinge to land in Munster, it will draw a considerable partie from Dublin, that then they will land there, or in the north of Ireland, if any confusion bee there as they hope there will, therefore all parties where they have any freinds will have notice to observe the wind, and to prepare for there reception.

Some are much troubled to thinke if this money now advanced bee spent, how hard a thinge it wilbee to gett more, and if the people in Ireland bee vigelant, as it is feared they will, this money wilbee spent before they leve the kingedome, and yf they can but hinder there landinge untill the 10th of September, it is impossible to transporte anie greate numbers this yeare.

Sir I. M.

I would not have you feare the Vlster knight that went laitely from hence, and is by this time active, there hee is really a servant to yo^r supremest freind, who I hope will not neglect him, w^{ch} if hee doe hee may repent it, for the kn^t will know what is doeing both here and in Scotland, w^{ch} wilbee no small advantage. Bee mindfull what I did write as concerninge yo^r selfe, and prepare for it. I have written to freinds in Vlster to mind it, and alsoe to mind yo^r freinds therof.

The Isle of Man wee thinke our selves sure of if all faile, and this doth lie convenient to infest both Ireland and Scotland.

I can now assure you, the Scotts and the Kinge are agreed. Our freinds here that now doe governe doe know it, and it troubleth them very much. I very much feare a suddaineer turne of thinges then you are aware of, for the greate discontents in the nobilitie and gentry will occasion it. What I write you will find to bee true.

London, 14th July, 1649.

To the intelligence above written, an other understanding friend addes this, viz.: It is said that Col. Iones hath found out a fyne way of gaining intelligence, by sending cunning beggars into Ormond's campe, who bring him notice of what he can observe there also. Some souldiers that seeme to run thether are of purpose imployed to gaine intelligence.

Endorsed: 14 July, 1649.

XVII. LORD INCHQUIN TO SIR GEORGE LANE.

S^r,

1649.
31. July.
Inchiquin to
Sir G. Lane.

Being now in very great hast to attend the Princes, in taking view of the coast, I have not tyme to write unto his Excellency, but am forced to leave a blanke wth Ric. Gething, for the writing of thus much unto you. By the

last passage there came over a gentlewoman, of whose good affections as well as discretion wee have so much confidence as to assure ourselves that the intelligence shee gives us is really true, and shee assures us that those forces of Cromwells are at the water-side in all manner of readiness to imbarque, wayting for and expecting howerly the shipping to take them, w^{ch} was also in very great readiness, so as shee is most confident the wynd haveing bin favourable to them theis three or fower dayes, that they are by this tyme at sea, so as I am very sorry that I did not press more earnestly for the sending away of the regim^t under Major Pardon, about whom the Councell have now written to his Excellency, and if wth the forces upon the place, and those to be raysed in y^e country, (who make many faire promises of levyng considerable numbers, though I have many reasons not to bee too confident of their performance,) I can put the country in a posture of defence, under L^t.-generall Barry. I shall make all the hast I can to wayte on his Excellency. It is very much confirmed that the citty of Lymerick should have bin given upp to Owen Roe, had not his march into y^t part bin prevented, as also that those long boates (the ô Maylies and Flaghortys), were by appointm^t to meet him there, who are suffered still to lye in y^e river of Lymerick, and although it hath bin moved and urged very strongly, by some officers of myne, to haue them beaten off with a vessell of 14 gunns that lyes there, yet are they suffred to obstruct the river, and to infest the land on both sides. I shall give his Excellency a further accompt very suddainly. In the meantyme, I remayne

APPENDIX.
1649.
31. July.
Lord
Inchiquin to
Sir George
Lane.

Sr,

Yo^r affectionate freind and kinsman,

Cork, ultimo Julij, 1649.

Inchiquin.

To my affectionate friend and kinsman, George Lane, Esq.

Endorsed: L^d Inchiquins to G. L:

XVIII. IRISH COMMISSIONERS TO ORMONDE.

May it please your Excellencie,

By a reference your Lordship made unto us, on the petition of Collonell Charles Hennessy, for the arreares of the summer service, 1648, growen due unto him selfe, his chaplain, surgeon and adiudant, wee are directed to put him in a speedy way for his satisfaction, and having applyed all the publique dues wee could hitherto bring in, to the necessities of the service; wee find not a possibilitie at present to comply with that direction, but if your Lordship be pleased, taking the petitioners request into further consideration, to give order that he be accompted with for those arreares, and the same being ascertayned, that allowance be given him in the rentt reserved to the publique for his ffarme of Walshtowne, in the county of Corcke, as desired in his petition, wee humbly offer to be the speediest

1649.
4. Aug.
Irish
Commissioners
to Ormonde.

APPENDIX.
1649.
4. Aug.
Irish
Commissioners
to Ormonde.

way (wee conceive) can be thought for his present satisfaction, wherein submitting our selves to your Lordships further consideration, wee remayne

Your Excellencies most humble servants,

Athunry. Alex. Mc Donell.
Lucas Dillon. N. Plunkett.
Torl. O'Neill. Gerald Ferrell.
Geffr. Browne.

Kilkenny, 4 Augusti, 1649.

For his Excellencie the Lord Lieutenant-generall of Ireland.

Endorsed: Com^r concerning Collonel Henessy, 4th August, 1649:

XIX. MAYOR OF WEXFORD TO ORMONDE.

May it please yo^r Ex^{cle},

1649.
6. Aug.
Mayor of
Wexford
to
Ormonde.

Cap^{en} George Bradshaw, now instantlie com from sea in a smale warrfaring bote, having beene on y^e cost of England and Wales, and having brought thence som prisoners that were taken at sea, about Easter last, of Gallway men that were going over with soldiours then for Spaine, and were taken into Milford, on examinacion of them all, finding matters fitt to bee in all speed imparted to your Ex^{cle}, for his Ma^{ties} and this kingdoms good and securitie, I have thought fitt to send your Ex^{cle} as well what Cap^{en} Bradshaw declared and writes in the enclosed with his owne hand, as the substance in briefe of what the other two men that were prisoners declare, that your Lordship seeing the malise and strong preparations of y^eemie, may take tymely course to prevent their wicked designes, w^{ch} God I hope will by your Ex^{cles} indeavours crush, notwithstanding y^e late unhappie disaster.

First, Besids what Cap^{en} Bradshaw writes in y^e inclosed, hee saies there were at Milford in y^e harbour twentie saile of shipps, and that hee being at sea saw twentie six saile more making for Milford, wherof hee tooke one, who confessed they were going for Milford from Dublin to carrie souldiours for Ireland, but could not tell for what particular parte they were to bring them.

And Lawrence Trehy and John Brenan, the two prisoners that were taken going from Gallway, doe declare that they being nyne weekes prisoners at Milford, and nyne or tenn weekes more at libertie since, begging upp and doune y^e cuntrye untill they found this conveniency, that there are fiteene thowsand men, wherof seaven thowsand horse and eight thowsand foote in Pembrokshire, readie to com for this kingdom under comaund of the Lord Cromwell, wherof they saw three hundred foote in Hereford on Wensday last the first of this instant, and they say all the rest were in the cuntrye, and provision a making for their coming, and proclamacion that the markets of Pembroke should bee kept at Nangle, and the market of Hereford at Dale and Pill, and that 20 shipps as before was at Milford,

and 26 more past by them at sea for Milford for soldiours, wherof they tooke one as before loden onely wth ballast going for men. All this on oath was taken by
Your Ex^{ties} most humble servant,
Mich. Belan, Maior of Wexford.
Wexford, 6 Aug. 1649, 4 of y^e clock, afternoone.
For his Ex^{ties} y^e Lord Lieut^t.-generall: These, hast, hast, post hast.
Endorsed: Mayor of Wexford, Dated 6, Rec. 7, Aug., 1649.

APPENDIX.
1649.
6. Aug.
Mayor of
Wexford
to
Ormonde.

XX. ORMONDE TO GENERAL OWEN O'NEILL.

After our hearty comendations uppon this occasion of reasumeing the treaty with you, in order to your submission to his Majesties government and authority in and over this kingdom, and to express our willingnes to afford you all fitting encouragement to bring those seasonable and wee hope reall inclinations which wee heare you have lately expressed to his Majesties service, to a due and wished perfection, wee have thought fitt heereby to take notice unto you, that besides those publicque concessions whereof you and your adhearants are to expect full benefitt by such submission, wee should readily adventure to confirme certaine offers formerly made and transmitted unto you by your nephew, Mr. Daniell O'Neill, relating to your owne particuler concearnements, did wee not beleve that (being disengaged by your rejecting them) wee have, for especiall reasons to his Majesties service, passed our engagement to others for some of those particulers, which in such case wee may not violate uppon any consideration whatsoever; yet in further manifestation of the cleerenes of our proceedings, and of our reall intentions not to diminish any thing that was intended for your advantage, wee heereby declare and undertake that all and every the particulers thereby offered, that (by reason of your non acceptance) hath not been disposed of as afforesaid, shall be ratified and made good uppon your submission to y^e Kings authority as afforesaid, or assoone after as possibly may be, and that all such particulers as have been soe disposed of shall be equivalently recompenced unto you otherwise, to your full contentment and satisfaction.

1649.
12. Aug.
Ormonde
to
Owen O'Neill.

Endorsed: A copy of my Lords letter to Generall Owen O'Neill from Trym, dated 12 Aug., 1649.

XXI. COLONEL MONK AND PARLIAMENT AT LONDON.

Die Veneris, 10 Augusti, 1649.

Mr. Scot reports from the Councel of State, a letter and paper concerning a Cessation made by Colonel Monk with General Owen Roe Mac Art O'Neal, sent to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by Colonel Monk, and were by the Lord Lieutenant brought and delivered to the councel, and by them taken into consideration, and

1649.
10. Aug.
Monk and
Parliament
at London.

xx. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 153.

xxi. True state of the Transactions of Colonel George Monk, 1649, p. 3.

APPENDIX.
1649.
10. Aug.
Monk and
Parliament
at London.

that the whole business was then disapproved by the council; and the council hath declared unto Colonel Monk, That they neither did nor do approve of what he hath done therein; and ordered, That both the foresaid letter and papers, and also the reasons now exhibited to the council by Colonel Monk for his making the Cessation, should be reported to the House; which were all this day read.

The House being informed that Colonel Monk was at the door, he was called in; and being come to the Bar,

Mr Speaker by command of the House, declared to him, That the House had received a report from the Council of State, touching an agreement for a Cessation between him and Owen Roe; and whereas in his letter he doth mention, That he had done it with advice with some others there, Mr. Speaker demanded of him what persons he intended thereby. To which Colonel Monk answered, That he did it upon his own score, without the advice of any other person; onely having formerly had discourse with Colonel Jones, Colonel Jones told him, That if he said Colonel Monk, could keep off Owen Roe and Ormond from joynning, it would be a good service.

Being demanded by Mr. Speaker, Whether he had any advice or direction from the Parliament, or Council of State, or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or any other person here to do the same; he did expresly deny, That he had any advice or direction therein from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or from the Council of State, or from the Parliament, or any member of either; but he did it onely on his own score, conceiving it was for the preservation of the English interest there, and that they have had some fruits thereof accordingly.

Being withdrawn, and afterwards called in again, the questions demanded him by Mr. Speaker, and his answers thereunto, were read unto him; and the said Colonel Monk did acknowledge, that the same are his answers to the said questions.

Resolved, &c., That this House doth utterly disapprove of the proceedings of Colonel Monk, in the treaty and Cessation made between him and Owen Roe O'Neal; and that the innocent blood which hath been shed in Ireland, is so fresh in the memory of this House, that this House doth detest and abhor the thoughts of any closing with any party of Popish rebels there who have had their hands in shedding that blood.

Nevertheless, the House being satisfied that what the said Colonel Monk did therein, was in his apprehension necessary for the preservation of the Parliament of Englands interest, That the House is content the further consideration thereof, as to him, be laid aside, and shall not any time hereafter be called in question.

Ordered, That it be referred to the Council of State to give direction for printing the report from the Council of State, and so much of the letters and proceedings as concern this business, and the votes of the House thereupon.

Hen : Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti.

XXII. ORMONDE TO GENERAL OWEN O'NEILL.

APPENDIX.

After our, etc. Together with letters from S^r Richard Barnewell and S^r Luke Fitz-Gerald to you, imparting our authorising them to conclude the treaty with you and y^r party upon the conditions formerly approved of by you, we sent you our letter of the 12 of this month, a duplicate whereof wee herewith send you, doubting that your being soe farr remooved from these partes, and the danger in the way, may have occasioned the delay, if not the miscarriage of those letters. Wee know you are not ignorant of the late misfortune befallen his Ma^{ties} army before Dublin, the landing of Cromwell with considerable suplys of men and other things at Dublin, and that now is the season of the yeare most proper in all respects for service, all w^{ch} are motives enduceing mee to desire that (in case you determine to adhere to what you have offered, as I nothing doubt butt you will) you would, without delay, advance with your army towards these partes, to bee ioyned with the rest of his Ma^{ties} forces, for the preservation of his interest, and whatever els of religion or freedome may be of value with our nation, and that you would give us intimation of the time and place whither wee may send unto you, our resolution being personally to confirme unto you the conditions formerly offered, in case the com^{rs} cannot then be had; and soe wee.

1649.
22. Aug.
Ormonde
to
Owen O'Neill.

Endorsed: A copy of my Lords to Generall Owen O'Neill, dated 22 Aug., 1649, from Droghda.

XXIII. GENERAL OWEN O'NEILL TO SIR GEORGE MONRO.

S^r,

Yo^r beareing noe date I received yesterday, wherein you admire that I should tearme those that onely names them selves for his Ma^{ties} an advers partie; truly theire cruell usage of mee by killing my men, stripping, wounding, and imprisoning my offic^{rs} (in my opinion) deserves noe better denomination from mee than the like. As for yo^r parte I render you many thanks for yo^r good advice, and am very confident had you knowne the manifold good services I have don (by Gods assistance) to this kingdome, and my unthankfull requittall severall times from the councill of Kilkeny, you would not disprove my proceedings wth them; God is a rightfull iudg, at whose hands I must expect iustice therein. I desire you will suspend any censure or hard opinion of mee concerning the premisses untill such time as you receive a true information of the matter on both sides; I am soe unalterably constant and steadfast in my resolution and wayes, as that where my promise or paroll is once really engaged, I rather die a thousand times than one ench to decline or deviat from the same. What aspersion soever my maisters are pleased undeservedly to cast uppon mee will (I doubt not) in the end redownd rather to theire owne discredit than any dishonor of myne, as the finall effect of both our proceedings will publickly testifie to the view of the world.

1649.
22. Aug.
Owen O'Neill
to
Sir George
Monro.

